This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

14 DAYS
BOOK

US 4570.128

Harvard College Library

FROM THE

BRIGHT LEGACY.

Descendants of Henry Bright, jr., who died at Watertown, Mass., in 1686, are entitled to hold scholarships in Harvard College, established in 1880 under the will of

JONATHAN BROWN BRIGHT

of Waltham, Mass., with one half the income of this Legacy. Such descendants failing, other persons are eligible to the scholarships. The will requires that this announcement shall be made in every book added to the Library under its provisions.

WASHINGTON
IN GERMANTOWN

Five Hundred Copies of this book
have been printed from type

No. 425. W.J.G.

WASHINGTON IN GERMANTOWN

Being an Account *of the* Various Visits *of the* Commander-in-Chief *and* First President *to* Germantown, Pennsylvania

BY

Charles Francis Jenkins

SECRETARY OF
THE SITE AND RELIC SOCIETY
OF GERMANTOWN

PHILADELPHIA
William J. Campbell
1905

US 4570.128
~~6337.62~~

COPYRIGHT, 1905, BY
CHARLES FRANCIS JENKINS

ARRANGED AND PRINTED BY
GUERNSEY MOORE, AT
THE CANTERBURY PRESS
IN PHILADELPHIA

TO

CHARLES J. WISTER

WHOSE FATHER SAW WASHINGTON IN GERMANTOWN AND
WHO, DESPITE HIS MORE THAN FOUR SCORE
YEARS, RETAINS A DEEP AND ACTIVE
INTEREST IN THE HISTORY
OF HIS NATIVE PLACE

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Washington's Early Visits	1
II.	The Yellow Fever of 1793	8
III.	A Picture of Germantown in 1793	37
IV.	Germantown Escapes the Contagion	55
V.	Where Shall Congress Meet?	65
VI.	Randolph Arranges for the President's Comfort	89
VII.	Washington Reaches Germantown	99
VIII.	The Attorney General's Formal Opinion	119
IX.	Germantown Cabinet Meetings	132
X.	The Record of a Busy Month	152
XI.	Some Germantown Washington Letters	180
XII.	Congress Meets	218
XIII.	The Summer of 1794	234
XIV.	Washington as a Farmer	277
XV.	Gilbert Stuart and the Washington Portraits	297

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

ATHENÆUM PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON

PAINTED BY GILBERT STUART. JANE STUART, THE ARTIST'S DAUGHTER, SAYS IT WAS PAINTED IN GERMANTOWN. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING BELONGING TO THE BOSTON ATHENÆUM, NOW HANGING IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS - - - - FRONTISPIECE

STENTON

BUILT BY JAMES LOGAN, 1727–34. OCCUPIED BY WASHINGTON IN 1777. LOCATED ON EIGHTEENTH STREET, BETWEEN COURTLAND AND WYOMING, NEAR WAYNE JUNCTION, PHILADELPHIA. FROM A RECENT PHOTOGRAPH.

OPPOSITE PAGE 1

CARLTON

OCCUPYING THE SITE OF HENRY HILL'S MANSION, WHICH WAS OCCUPIED BY WASHINGTON ON TWO OCCASIONS IN 1777. ON INDIAN QUEEN LANE AND MIDVALE AVENUE, WEST OF WISSAHICKON AVENUE. FROM A RECENT PHOTOGRAPH.

OPPOSITE PAGE 11

CLIVEDEN,—THE CHEW HOUSE

BUILT BY BENJAMIN CHEW, ABOUT 1760. FAMOUS FOR ITS CONNECTION WITH THE BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN. WASHINGTON DINED HERE IN 1787. LOCATED ON THE EAST SIDE OF THE MAIN STREET OF GERMANTOWN, BETWEEN JOHNSON STREET AND CLIVEDEN AVENUE. FROM A RECENT PHOTOGRAPH - - - - - - OPPOSITE PAGE 17

BATTLE-SCARRED DOORS OF THE CHEW HOUSE

THESE DOORS ARE PRESERVED IN THE MANSION AND WERE STOOD IN PLACE FOR THIS PHOTOGRAPH, WHICH WAS RECENTLY TAKEN - - - - OPPOSITE PAGE 32

BAYARD HOUSE

Built by George Hesser in 1777. Occupied by Henry Drinker and family in 1793. Located No. 6749 Main Street, Germantown. From a recent photograph.
Opposite Page 39

CHEW HOUSE HALL

The woodwork and plaster still show the scars of the attack upon the house. From a recent photograph.
Opposite Page 49

THE BILLMEYER HOUSE

Washington is said to have stood on a horse-block in front of this house and directed the attack upon the Chew House. Located at the northeast corner of Main and Upsal Streets. From a recent photograph.
Opposite Page 55

ALBURGER HOUSE

Built by David James Dove about 1766. Occupied by Washington during a portion of November, 1793. Located No. 130 School House Lane, Germantown. From a photograph, 1905 - - Opposite Page 81

HORSE CHESTNUT TREE

Said to have been planted by Washington in the garden of the Alburger House. From a photograph taken in 1904 - - - - - Opposite Page 96

MORRIS HOUSE

Built by David Deshler in 1772–3. Headquarters of General Howe at the time of the Battle of Germantown. Occupied by Washington in 1793 and again in 1794. Located at 5442 Main Street, Germantown. From a recent photograph - - Opposite Page 113

MORRIS HOUSE GARDEN

From a photograph, 1904 - - Opposite Page 119

MORRIS HOUSE DOORWAY

As it was when occupied by Washington. From a photograph, 1904 - - - - Opposite Page 144

MARKET SQUARE

The Morris House, which Washington occupied, faces on this square. Photographed from a sketch made by William Britton, a school teacher of Germantown, prior to 1823. From a photograph in possession of Thomas H. Shoemaker, of Germantown.

Opposite Page 161

GERMANTOWN ACADEMY

Founded in 1760. Offered by the Trustees to Washington as a meeting place for Congress in 1793. Located at the southwest corner of School House Lane and Greene Street, Germantown. From a photograph, 1904 - - - - - - - Opposite Page 177

KING OF PRUSSIA TAVERN

An old-time stopping place in Germantown. Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, lodged here in 1793. Now Nos. 5516–18–20 Main Street, Germantown. From a photograph, 1905 - - Opposite Page 193

SPENCERS

The home of Nathan Spencer in 1793 and the boarding place of Edmund Randolph, Attorney General of the United States. Located at the northeast corner of Mill Street (Church Lane) and Dunton Street. Photograph, 1905 - - - - Opposite Page 203

FAC-SIMILE OF LETTER FROM WASHINGTON TO COLONEL BURGESS BALL

Photographed from the original in possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society - Opposite Page 211

SPENCERS

THE OLD GATEWAY TO THE FARM YARD. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH, 1905 - - - - OPPOSITE PAGE 225

THE OLD SPENCER SUN DIAL

MADE IN 1787. FORMERLY STOOD NEAR THE SPENCER HOUSE. NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF CHARLES F. JENKINS, A DESCENDANT OF NATHAN SPENCER. IT BEARS THE INSCRIPTION, "TIME WAITS FOR NO MAN." FROM A RECENT PHOTOGRAPH - - - - - OPPOSITE PAGE 240

HOME OF GILBERT STUART IN GERMANTOWN

FOR MANY YEARS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE WISTER FAMILY. LOCATED NO. 5140 MAIN STREET, GERMANTOWN. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH, 1905 - - - OPPOSITE PAGE 273

RUINS OF GILBERT STUART'S STUDIO

PARTIALLY DESTROYED BY FIRE ABOUT 1850. THIS PHOTOGRAPH WAS TAKEN ABOUT THIRTY YEARS AGO. THE RUINS WERE ENTIRELY REMOVED IN 1895. IT STOOD IN THE REAR OF THE HOUSE OCCUPIED BY STUART. - OPPOSITE PAGE 289

MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH FROM THE ORIGINAL. PAINTED IN GERMANTOWN FOR WILLIAM BINGHAM. NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS.

OPPOSITE PAGE 298

INTRODUCTION

GERMANTOWN is now a part of the City of Philadelphia, being almost co-extensive with its Twenty-second ward. Until the consolidation in 1854 of Philadelphia County with the City as it now exists, it was an outlying village and township, the center of which is about six miles almost due north from the City Hall. It was settled in 1683 by German Friends (Quakers) and Mennonites from the lower Rhine country, and for many years was a slumbering country village, built somewhat after the way of European towns, the houses lining for three miles or more the main street, and the orchards, fields and woodlots extending back, in many cases to the township lines, a mile or so away to the east and west. As late as 1777 there were but six cross-roads bisecting the long Main Street, and it was much later than this before any important road or street was laid out paralleling the great highway. The German language, customs, and traditions clung tenaciously to the town until well into the beginning of the last century.

The early settlers were mostly artisans who brought from the fatherland habits of thrift and industry, and

skill in making linen, weaving cloth, knitting, shoe making, tanning and other industries. Some of these lines of production early assumed large proportions. Knitting particularly has always flourished in the town, and Germantown yarn is a synonym of excellence throughout the country. The first paper mill in the colonies was erected here before 1700. Printing was an early art, so that we find three editions of the Bible printed here in German before an English one was made elsewhere in the colonies. The first Mennonite church, the first Dunkard church, the first religious paper, the first hymn book, the first work on pedagogy, the first type casting and the first public protest against the institution of human slavery are a few of the results of the enterprise and public spirit of its German settlers and their descendants. When to these peaceful achievements is added the fact that Germantown was occupied first by the American and then by the British army and was the scene of one of the important battles in the struggle for American Independence, its importance in colonial history will be appreciated.

Yet Germantown has still another claim for distinction in that here, during the month of November, 1793, was the seat of government of the United States. Here was the residence of the President and the offices of the Secretary of State, and of the Attorney General. Nearby the Secretaries of the Treasury and of War were quartered. It is remarkable that not one of the great biographers of Washington gives more than a passing notice to

the fact that for this whole month his home was here, and that it was one of the busiest, the most trying, and, in some ways, as important as any month in the whole eight years of his administration. The biographers perhaps are not to blame, for while we of Germantown have known in a hazy way that Washington was here, none of our local historians have heretofore surmised the wealth of material which was in existence, nor the importance which attaches to this month of great administrative activity, or its connection with the nation's history.

Washington again made his home in Germantown during the summer of 1794 to escape the heat of the city, and while this visit contained more of rural calm and rest from the affairs of state, yet it was not entirely free from Presidential worry and responsibility. It was from Germantown that the proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of Western Pennsylvania at the time of the whiskey rebellion was dated and sent forth. Great Britain's delay in evacuating the military forts on our frontiers was also the cause of concern to the President, and his letter addressed to John Jay, the American Minister in London, has been included to show that there was little real relief from official cares even in quiet Germantown.

The following chapters are largely filled with copies of letters from and to Washington and the various members of his cabinet. They have mainly been selected and

copied from the archives of the Library of Congress, and many of them are here in print for the first time. It should be stated, however, that the words "heretofore unpublished" mean that the letters do not appear in any standard collection of the writings of the authors. It would of course be impossible to say with any degree of assurance that every letter so designated was absolutely free, either in the original or a copy, from the leady smudge of the typesetter's thumb.

The thanks of the author are due to S. M. Hamilton, of the Library of the Department of State, Washington, D. C., for much valued assistance, and to Dr. John W. Jordan and Albert Cook Myers for helpful information. Also to J. Mitchell Elliot, who made the photographs, with a few exceptions, especially for this work.

A.W. Elson & Co. Boston

Stenton

WASHINGTON IN GERMANTOWN

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]UST [illegible] [illegible]nental
army [illegible] Washington
encamp[illegible] German-
tween [illegible] [illegible]lkill,
village [illegible] General Howe
ked his [illegible] New York for
[illegible] destin[illegible] [illegible] Washington had
[illegible] [illegible]rsey [illegible] war
[illegible] [illegible] Dela-
[illegible] [illegible] the [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] the Delaw[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] himse[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]

WASHINGTON IN GERMANTOWN

CHAPTER I

Washington's Early Visits

AUGUST 1st, 1777, the Continental army under command of Washington encamped on the outskirts of Germantown, between it and the Falls of Schuylkill, now the village of that name. General Howe had embarked his troops from New York for his unknown destination, and Washington had waited in northern New Jersey until word was received that the British ships were off the Delaware Capes. He had then turned to the defence of Philadelphia, crossed the Delaware River at New Hope, Pennsylvania, July 27th, and marched from there to the fields outlying Germantown. Washington himself rode on in advance of the army, went into Philadelphia, inspected the

forts on the Delaware, visited Chester and Philadelphia again, and did not reach his camp until August 4th. Here he occupied the house of Henry Hill, which has since been taken down and the site rebuilt with the handsome old mansion Carlton, a square or so west of Wissahickon Avenue and between Queen Lane and Midvale Avenue.

The army remained encamped here until August 8th, when the belief having arisen that the British would not attack Philadelphia, Washington started back to the Hudson. That evening the army encamped at Whitemarsh and the next day a few miles further on to Upper Dublin township. On the 10th they encamped near Hartsville, Pennsylvania, remaining there until the 23d, when all doubt as to Howe's intentions against Philadelphia having been removed and news of his arrival in Chesapeake Bay having been received, the army was put in motion for Philadelphia. It rested that night a mile below Germantown, at Nicetown. Washington made his headquarters nearby at Stenton, which was built in 1728 by James Logan, William Penn's able and faithful secretary and representative in the Colony.

Stenton* was then the home of Dr. George Logan, a grandson of James Logan, but the house was unoccupied by the family at this particular time. An aid-de-camp, with a guard, was sent in advance to secure the house. The General and his staff of about twenty officers and their servants arrived about noon. They bought a sheep of the tenant of the farm, which was killed and prepared as soon as possible, dinner being served at three o'clock. Washington is described on this occasion as being very silent and grave and wrapped in deep thought. The following day, Sunday, August 24th, the army, with Washington at its head, marched through Philadelphia to Darby, to Wilmington, and on to meet Howe on the banks of the Brandywine.

On Saturday, September 13th, the second day after that battle, the troops returned to their first encampment near Germantown, between it and the Falls of Schuylkill, and Washington again made his headquarters at Henry Hill's

*It should be noted that neither Carlton nor Stenton are, strictly speaking, in Germantown. Both mansions are a few hundred yards beyond the boundaries of the ancient township. They have, however, always been identified with the town and its history.

house. The army remained here for two days, when it again crossed the Schuylkill, and after ten days of marching and counter-marching, Washington withdrew towards the Perkiomen and the British army, in two great streams, one down the Ridge Road through the neighboring town of Roxborough and the other down the Main Street of Germantown, encamped in the fields on the edge of the town which Washington had shortly before vacated. This was on the 25th of September. The next day Howe dispatched Cornwallis to occupy Philadelphia, but the main body of the British army remained encamped near Germantown until the time of Washington's next visit, October 4th, 1777, the day of the battle of Germantown. Until that day Sir William Howe had his headquarters at Stenton.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to recount that event. Washington had been resting on the banks of the Perkiomen, but marched down and encamped some twelve or thirteen miles north of Germantown. Starting from here on the evening of October 3d, after an all-night march, he fell upon the British army. Washington himself accompanied the reserve divisions

under the command of General Nash, and there seems good authority for the statement that his personal visit to the town that day did not extend down the Main Street beyond the Billmeyer house, at the northeast corner of Main and Upsal Streets. Here for many years was pointed out the horse block on which he stood inspecting the attack on the Chew House, a few hundred yards away. The capstone is preserved by the Site and Relic Society of Germantown, while the spyglass used on the occasion is in the possession of the Academy. The battle ended in the Continental army withdrawing, and for a number of years Washington found no opportunity to revisit Germantown.

On Sunday, July 8th, 1787, Washington, then in Philadelphia presiding over the sessions of the Constitutional Convention, rode out to Stenton, in company with his friend, Major Daniel Jenifer. Stenton at this time was occupied by Dr. George Logan, who had been brought to Washington's attention as a successful and progressive farmer, and the visit was partly for the purpose of looking over the farm and noting the experiments which Dr. Logan was then making. Among these was a demonstration

of the advantage of the use of land plaster on grass land, which Dr. Logan had illustrated by marking out initials in the sod. Where the plaster had been sown on these letters the grass was darker and more luxuriant than elsewhere. While Washington was pleased with the many evidences of rural progress which he found, his hosts were no less pleased with his graciousness. His attentions to Mrs. Logan and his notice of the children, one of whom he placed upon his knee, naturally won the parents' regard. Mrs. Logan says in her account of this visit: "I had always looked up to General Washington from the first time I ever heard his auspicious name as a rare and perfect pattern of the dignity to which man might attain by living up to the laws of virtue and honour, and now that I beheld the colossal greatness at nearer view, I perceived it polished and adorned with all the amenity and gentleness which delights and endears in domestic society."* Washington recalled to his hosts his former visit to Stenton in 1777, when in gloom and uncertainty he had

*From Memoirs of Dr. George Logan, by his widow, Deborah Norris Logan, Philadelphia, 1899.

passed a night there. The visitors returned to the city in the evening.

Again on a Sunday in August, the 19th, Washington rode up through Germantown, in company with his friend, Samuel Powel, to the old encampment at Whitemarsh, where the army had been quartered from November 2d to December 11th, 1777. After contemplating the scene and reviewing the dangers which had threatened to overwhelm the American army at that place, they rode back to Germantown and dined with Blair McClenachan, a Philadelphia merchant who had bought, in 1779, the Chew mansion, where he was then living. After dinner they rode across the Schuylkill to Belmont, drank tea with Judge Richard Peters and returned to the city in the evening.

CHAPTER II

The Yellow Fever of 1793

THERE arrived at Philadelphia in July of 1793, several ships from Santo Domingo, loaded with French refugees from the revolution then raging in that island. It is probable that the yellow fever was introduced in Philadelphia by these unfortunate people, as it is known there was sickness among them and several had died after landing. It was not until the middle of August, however, that the inhabitants of the city awoke to the fact that a pestilence was upon them. On the 16th a diarist in Germantown notes that the season was "sickly," and that there had been an unusual number of deaths lately in the city. "'Tis seldom any one of the family comes to stay a night with us but they bring an account of the death of one or more of our citizens" (in Philadelphia).* The first official notice of the epidemic was on August 22d, when the Mayor, Matthew Clarkson, communicated with the City Commission-

* Elizabeth Drinker's Journal, August 18th, 1793.

ers, ordering them to have the streets cleaned and purified and all filth removed. The College of Physicians considered the matter on the 26th of the month and issued an address to the public containing important suggestions as to what should be done in the emergency. They urged non-intercourse with the afflicted, that houses containing fever patients should be marked, that a hospital should be prepared, that cleanliness should be observed, that the dead should be buried promptly and privately, that the bells which had been constantly tolling should be stopped, and other suggestions of a hygienic and common sense nature. On the 27th the Legislature, pursuant to adjournment, assembled at the State House, and despite the contagion, remained in session until the 7th of the following month.* Governor Mifflin wrote on the 29th, urging the necessity of the most vigorous action to prevent the extension of the disease. On the same day, the Guardians of the Poor held a conference with the magistrates, at

* One of the bills of expense of this short session, ordered paid by the Legislature, was $5.63 for vinegar, which was sprinkled around the rooms as a disinfectant and preventative; also $2.72 for gun powder which was burned for the same purpose. *Journal of House of Representatives.*

which it was decided that a suitable hospital near the city was absolutely necessary for the infected poor.

But even up to this time, when the deaths in the city had increased from the normal average of eight or nine a day to twenty-four, there were those who were disposed to minimize the danger. Among these was Oliver Wolcott, Jr., the Auditor of Treasury, who writing to his father August 30th, expressed himself as vexed at the prominence the newspapers of the city had given the disorder. He deplored the effect on the markets occasioned by the alarm spreading to the country. For himself, he felt no apprehension of danger and cautioned his friends not to be alarmed at the reports which were likely to be circulated.

On the 31st of August the Guardians of the Poor took possession, against the protest of the tenant, of the estate of William Hamilton, called Bushhill, on the outskirts of the city, and here established a hospital. Hamilton was absent from the city.

The exodus from the city had begun in large numbers by the 26th of August, and so great was the desire to get away, that vehicles of

A. W. Elson & Co. Boston

Carlton

Ducon Lane near Wissahickon Avenue

all kinds were in demand, constantly transporting for several weeks, families and furniture into the neighboring country. As a consequence, rents and accommodations in the suburbs went soaring upwards. Many city homes were closed entirely; others left in the care of servants. Of Philadelphia's population of over 36,000, it was stated in the official report, that during the epidemic twelve thousand people left the city; other estimates make the number at least twenty thousand. Of 6,327 houses, 2,728 were closed. A great number of those who were in the early stages of the disease when they fled the city died in the surrounding country, but it is an interesting fact that only in a very few cases was the disease communicated to the homes where they had taken refuge.

Early in September Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, was taken down with the prevailing disease at his residence at Fair Hill, two and a half miles from Philadelphia. He had been miserable for several days, and on the evening of the 6th two physicians were called in to attend him. Edmund Randolph, the Attorney General, had already sought refuge near Germantown, and Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State,

all kinds were in demand, constantly transporting for several weeks, families and furniture into the neighboring country. As a consequence, rents and accommodations in the suburbs went soaring upwards. Many city homes were closed entirely; others left in the care of servants. Of Philadelphia's population of over 36,000, it was stated in the official report, that during the epidemic twelve thousand people left the city; other estimates make the number at least twenty thousand. Of 6,327 houses, 2,728 were closed. A great number of those who were in the early stages of the disease when they fled the city died in the surrounding country, but it is an interesting fact that only in a very few cases was the disease communicated to the homes where they had taken refuge.

Early in September Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, was taken down with the prevailing disease at his residence at Fair Hill, two and a half miles from Philadelphia. He had been miserable for several days, and on the evening of the 6th two physicians were called in to attend him. Edmund Randolph, the Attorney General, had already sought refuge near Germantown, and Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State,

wrote on September 8th that he would go away, were it not that he had publicly announced he would not go until the beginning of October, and he did not like to exhibit the appearance of panic. Besides he thought that there might serious ills proceed from there not being a single member of the administration in Philadelphia. He felt, however, that there was danger in the situation.

On September 9th Mrs. Washington, on the eve of her departure for Virginia, wrote to Mrs. Hamilton, expressing her gratification to learn that Colonel Hamilton was better. She was lucky, she said, in having three bottles of old wine, which had been carried to the East Indies and back, and these she sent, together with three of another kind, with the statement that there was plenty more if Mrs. Hamilton would send for it. She further asked that Mrs. Hamilton would call on Mrs. Emerson, the housekeeper, for anything that she might want. Mrs. Hamilton was later taken with the disease, but the attack appears to have been a light one.

The same day Mrs. Washington received from Elizabeth Powel, the wife of Samuel Powel, the following letter, written in answer

to the invitation which had been extended to her to accompany the President's family to Virginia. Samuel Powel was a distinguished citizen of Philadelphia, an ex-mayor of the city, and a warm personal friend of the President. The letter leads up to one of the tragedies of the fateful summer, for Samuel Powel was stricken with the fever as he returned from a visit to his wife, who was at her brother Richard Willing's. He turned in at a little farm which he owned, called Powelton, now a portion of West Philadelphia, where he died September 29th after a few days' illness.

My dear Friend & very dear Madam: *

Your affectionate & friendly Attention to me, at this awfull Moment, filled my Heart with so much Sensibility as rendered me incapable of expressing my Feelings on the Subject of our Conversation, and when my amiable Friend, the President, renewed his Invitation to me to accompany you to Virginia, I could only say that I would let you know, this Evening, the result of a Conference I meant to have with Mr. Powel. After a long Conversation with him, I collected that he saw no Propriety in the Citizens flying from the only Spot where Physicians conver-

* From Archives Library of Congress. Heretofore unpublished.

sant in the Disorder that now prevails could be consulted; nor does he appear to be impressed with the degree of Apprehension that generally pervades the Minds of our Friends—however, he wished me to follow my own Inclination and the Dictates of my own Judgment in a matter that may eventually effect my Life and his Happiness—this has thrown me into a Dilemma the most painful. The Conflict between Duty and Inclination is a severe Trial of my Feelings; but as I believe it is always best to adhere to the line of Duty, I beg to decline the Pleasure I proposed to myself in accompanying you to Virginia at this Time. The Possibility of his being ill during my Absence, & thereby deprived of the Consolation and Aid, he might derive from my Attention to him woud be to me a lasting Source of Affliction, and, God knows, I need not voluntarily add to the List of Sorrows. My Life has been sufficiently embittered to make me now very little anxious about protracting or preserving it. Death has robbed me of many Friends, and Time has abated the Ardor of others, so that Life in my latter Years has been little more than a Sieve to let thro some Joy or some Blessing. Mr. Powel, who is highly sensible of your Friendship to us, desires to unite in every good Wish for you & yours. That God may preserve and bless you both, and that you may safely return in a short Time, is the unfeigned Prayer of your

sincere affectionate
Eliza. Powel.

Mr Powel would have done himself the Pleasure of waiting upon you before your Departure, had he not apprehended that a Visit in the Moment of Preparation for a Journey would have been ill timed.

Monday August 9th, 1793.

The President and Mrs. Washington

The President and his family set out for Mount Vernon on the 10th of September. It had been his intention to remain in Philadelphia until the 20th of the month. "But as Mrs. Washington was unwilling to leave me surrounded by the malignant fever which prevailed, I could not think of hazarding her and the children any longer by my continuance in the city, the house in which we lived being, in a manner, blockaded by the disorder, and was becoming every day more and more fatal. I, therefore, came off with them on the above day (the 10th) and arrived at this place (Mount Vernon) the 14th, without incountering the least accident on the road." *

Before going, Washington requested General Knox, the Secretary of War, to write him a line by every Monday's post, informing him

* Washington to Tobias Lear, September 14th, 1793.

of the state of the disorder, and he also asked his good offices in looking after Fraunces, the steward of his household, and Mrs. Emerson, the housekeeper, who had been left in charge of the house, "if by means of the disorder my household affairs in this city should be involved in any delicacy."

Had Washington delayed his departure until the 20th, as originally intended, he might have experienced inconvenience, if not difficulty, in making the journey. The citizens of Baltimore met on September 13th and passed a resolution that no persons coming from Philadelphia should be received into their homes, without producing a certificate from the health officer. The next day a body of militia was stationed two miles out of the city, on the Philadelphia road, who were to aid the health officers in preventing admission of any affected with any malignant disease, or those who had not been absent at least seven days from Philadelphia or any other infected place.

On the 17th the Philadelphia stage was stopped by the guard, the passengers, including a French naval officer and several French gentlemen, were compelled to alight, and being

A. W. Elson & Co. Boston

The Chew House

refused admittance at a nearby inn, were obliged to spend the night around a fire in the woods. The next day they were permitted to proceed. By the 19th the running of the stage by the western shore was entirely discontinued, and travel practically suspended. Havre de Grace, on the highroad from Philadelphia to Baltimore, prohibited the crossing of the Susquehanna at that point, of any not provided with a certificate to the effect that they had not lately come from Philadelphia.

In the other direction, New York, remembering its own visitation of the yellow fever the year before, made elaborate preparations to defend itself. By the 17th of September all intercourse with Philadelphia was forbidden, and guards were placed at the different landings to turn back any who might come. Despite these precautions, the efforts of the fugitives to enter the city were often successful. Committees were appointed to patrol the streets to guard against entry under cover of the night. At many of the towns along the post road from Philadelphia to New York all travelers, even those in quarantine, was interdicted and guards were placed to enforce the regulations.

The Chew House

refused admittance at a nearby inn, were obliged to spend the night around a fire in the woods. The next day they were permitted to proceed. By the 19th the running of the stage by the western shore was entirely discontinued, and travel practically suspended. Havre de Grace, on the highroad from Philadelphia to Baltimore, prohibited the crossing of the Susquehanna at that point, of any not provided with a certificate to the effect that they had not lately come from Philadelphia.

In the other direction, New York, remembering its own visitation of the yellow fever the year before, made elaborate preparations to defend itself. By the 17th of September all intercourse with Philadelphia was forbidden, and guards were placed at the different landings to turn back any who might come. Despite these precautions, the efforts of the fugitives to enter the city were often successful. Committees were appointed to patrol the streets and guard against entry under cover of the darkness. At many of the towns along the post road from Philadelphia to New York all travel, without quarantine, was interdicted and guards were placed to enforce the regulations. September

13th Trenton forbade the approach of travelers by water or their landing between Bordentown and head of navigation. On September 24th the route of the stage to New York was changed, and in order to avoid Trenton it ran up through Germantown, to cross the river at a point above. The alarm throughout the country was not confined to the towns along the great highway. Seaboard towns and cities placed a quarantine on Philadelphia shipping, or prohibited it altogether. Nearby towns and communities appointed health committees, provided hospitals and detention camps, and forbade stage drivers and ferrymen to transport suspected travelers. The most exaggerated accounts of the disorder were published in the newspapers of other cities, while Philadelphia letters and newspapers were received by postmaster and addressee alike with suspicion, and often handled with tongs and dipped in vinegar before being delivered or read.

On the other hand, the surrounding towns of Germantown, Chester, Wilmington, Springfield, Woodbury, Elkton and Chestertown placed no embargo on travelers from Philadelphia, and several of these places provided hospitals

and attention for the unfortunate who might come among them. Collections were made throughout the country for the poor of the city, New York leading off with $5000.00, and the smaller villages and country communities sending their welcome quotas of money or badly needed supplies. Salem, New Jersey, contributed 133 fowls, 3 cheese, 7 pounds of butter, 1 gammon, 2 sheep and 19 pounds of lard, while Peter Muhlenberg sent down from Trappe, Montgomery County, 120 fowls, 3 bundles of clothing, a load of vegetables, 10 sheep, 4 bags of flour and $50.00 in money. One welcome contribution was a cargo from Boston with sixty or seventy puncheons of vinegar (largely used as a disinfectant), four tons of tallow candles, and a quantity of lemon juice. Potts Grove sent fourteen sheep to Robeson's Mill, which formerly stood at School House Lane and the Wissahickon Drive, to be called for by the committee. Some of the delegations bearing relief were chary about entering the city, and arrangements were made to meet them at the ferries or outside the city limits.

It seemed to take the citizens of Philadelphia a long time to arouse to the importance of

vigorous action. It was not until Thursday, the 12th of September, that a slimly attended meeting of citizens was held at the City Hall. Ten citizens offered themselves to assist the three Guardians of the Poor who remained on duty, the rest having left the city.

On the 14th of September another public meeting was held, and a committee of twenty-six, which included seven of the volunteer committee, was appointed, and this committee, with the exception of four who gave no attention to their duties, from that time forward assumed charge of the poor, the collection and distribution of supplies, the hospital at Bushhill, the removal of the sick and the burial of the dead. Stephen Girard and Peter Helm, to the surprise and delight of the committee, volunteered for the management of the Bushhill hospital, then sadly in need of an effective administration, the former selecting the interior management and the latter the direction of outside affairs. As indicating the degree of their danger and devotion, it should be noted that of the thousand patients who were brought to this hospital, the deaths numbered more than fifty per cent., and of the committee of twenty-

six, four (Andrew Adgate, Jonathan Dickinson Sargeant, Daniel Offley and Joseph Inskeep) died from the fever, the first two contracting it early in their work. From the time of its appointment until early in November this committee sat daily and gave the most painstaking and intelligent direction to its duties. During this period it constituted in reality the government of the city. Later, when the absolute stagnation of business and consequent lack of employment reduced many families to want, an assistant committee was appointed to supervise the distribution of relief. It was not until March 8th, 1794, that the affairs of the committee were wound up and its report received, with grateful thanks and expressions of appreciation by the citizens of Philadelphia, in town meeting assembled at the City Hall.

The functions of the national government had almost entirely ceased. Jefferson had removed to a house along the Schuylkill before the President left the city, and despite his previous declaration that some one of the Cabinet should remain at the seat of government, concluded by the 15th of September that he, too, might as well go home. Going into town the

day the President departed, he found but one clerk remaining in his department, and that it was impossible to carry on any business. He accordingly, as soon as his files were cleared and every letter needing attention answered, set out for home, stopping at Mount Vernon on the way, and reaching Monticello September 22d.

The Secretary of War and Oliver Wolcott, Jr., the Auditor of the Treasury, had secured Dr. William Smith's house, near the Falls of Schuylkill, where temporary offices of the Treasury Department were opened and the public business attended to as well as circumstances would permit. As requested, General Knox wrote to the President on September 15th and again on the 18th. Knox announced that he intended setting out for Boston on the 19th and that he had sent to the President's house, and on inquiry found all well.

On their convalescence, the Secretary of the Treasury and Mrs. Hamilton departed for New York, but they were late in starting, and even their position in the government could not insure them a safe journey. They lodged with Robert Morris and his family, at the Falls of the Delaware, and their hosts were considerably alarmed

when they returned to the house shortly after they had resumed their journey, the citizens of Trenton having refused to let them pass. Having at length encompassed this difficulty, they were later refused admittance to New York City, and were therefore obliged to continue on up the river to Albany. To Hamilton Washington wrote as follows:

Mount Vernon Sepr 25: 1793*
(Private)

My dear Sir

I congratulate you & Mrs. Hamilton very sincerely on your recovery from the malignant fever which prevailed in Philadelphia, and hope you are both restored to perfect health, and that no other of the family has been seized with the disorder.—In these sentiments Mrs. Washington cordially unites with me.

From Mr. Jefferson who has just passed this—from Genl Knox who has set out for Boston—and from the accts. published in the Gazettes—I conceive, that under the most favourable change that can reasonably be expected, the first of November is as soon as business can, with safety, be transacted in the City of Philadelphia; but it appears necessary, at all events, that the heads of Departments should assemble—if

* Archives of the Library of Congress. Published also in Hamilton's Works, Vol. IV.

was reported at Newport that the yellow fever, *or plague* killed in New York 40 people per day. If a person has been from Philadelphia 14 days and continued in perfect health during that time he may be admitted into New York. I have yet six days *quarantine* to perform, which of the choice of evils is the least. This circumstance will retard my return as soon as I intended, for it is of the highest personal importance to me that I should go to Boston, and I am too bulky *to be smuggled* through the Country.

The french fleet is still in New York, in a wretched state of disorganization which prevents its sailing. Mr. Genet has been low spirited for ten days past. The fleet have been told by him that the executive of the United States prevents their selling their prizes, and Citizen Bompard who belongs to a club in france as well as all his sailors, say that they shall represent the matter upon their return in the proper colours—Some of the sailors lately attacked the Marquis de Rouvrays house with an intention it is said of massacring him and his son. They have fled to this Town. I do not find Mr. Genet has promulgated the last letter of the Secretary of State, excepting as to the effect of the measures with the Consuls, which prevent their selling their prizes—Would to God it had been thought proper to publish the letter to Mr. Morris. The minds of our own people would have been convinced of the propriety of the measures that have been adopted, and all cavil at the meeting of Congress prevented.

Colonel Hamilton experienced inconvenience on the road. Not being admitted into New York he has gone to Albany. My respectful compliments to Mrs. Washington,

I am sir with perfect respect
Your humble servt
Knox

The President of the United States.

Elizabeth Town N Jersey Oct 1. 1793*

Sir

I shall go through New York tomorrow for Boston as my days of quarantine expire today. I hope to be in Philadelphia by the 25th instant.

The french fleet excepting the Ambuscade will sail tomorrow from New York upon some cruise unknown.

The Surveillance sailed on the 9th ultimo for France with despatches from Mr. Genet. and such is her desire that they should arrive safely, that he will in a day or two dispatch the Ceres, an armed brig with duplicates—It is said the fleet is to Winter in New York. Still the fever rages in Philadelphia, and still the neighboring towns take all possible precautions for their own safety.

I am Sir With perfect respect
and attachment
Your humble Servant
Knox

The President of the U States.

* From Archives Library of Congress. Heretofore unpublished.

Of the many harrowing details of this the first great, but by no means the last, visitation of the yellow fever to Philadelphia, it is not the scope of this book to cover. The alarm and demoralization of the people of the city were extreme; families were broken up or entirely swept away; burials were made by wholesale, sometimes in trenches; coffins were stacked at the City Hall ready for use; servants, and even children, were abandoned, or the helpless parent or employer, if self-preservation seemed to demand it. The least indication of disease, often not yellow fever, would cause the patient, if poor, to be bundled off to Bush Hill.* Business was suspended, and many of those who remained in the city kept themselves secluded in their houses.

By October 11th the deaths had reached high water mark, the burials that day numbering one hundred and nineteen. From August 1st to November 9th the burials in all the graveyards of the city numbered 4,041. In addition there were those who had died in the

* As illustrating the effort to avoid exhibition of any of the symptoms of yellow fever, see the entry in Elizabeth Drinker's diary of October 5th, on a subsequent page.

refused admittance at a nearby inn, were obliged to spend the night around a fire in the woods. The next day they were permitted to proceed. By the 19th the running of the stage by the western shore was entirely discontinued, and travel practically suspended. Havre de Grace, on the highroad from Philadelphia to Baltimore, prohibited the crossing of the Susquehanna at that point, of any not provided with a certificate to the effect that they had not lately come from Philadelphia.

In the other direction, New York, remembering its own visitation of the yellow fever the year before, made elaborate preparations to defend itself. By the 17th of September all intercourse with Philadelphia was forbidden, and guards were placed at the different landings to turn back any who might come. Despite these precautions, the efforts of the fugitives to enter the city were often successful. Committees were appointed to patrol the streets and guard against entry under cover of the darkness. At many of the towns along the post road from Philadelphia to New York all travel, without quarantine, was interdicted and guards were placed to enforce the regulations. September

adelphia, gives such a faithful description of the epidemic that it is given in full:

Sir, Philadelphia Oct. 21. 1793.*

I have been honoured with your letter of the 14th relatively to the fever which has raged in this city. "Accurate information" of its state it may be impossible to obtain. But I am warranted by Doctor Rush's opinion, grounded on his own practice and the information of other physicians, *that there is an abatement of it by at least one half.* For a number of days preceeding the last ten days, I was frequently at Dr. Rush's, when his house was always thronged with applicants for assistance or advice:—I sat with him yesterday, and not one new application was made. One of his young men said that on Saturday a French physician of the hospital at Bush-Hill, told him they had then but three dangerous cases there.

About *Three Thousand* persons have died in the city and suburbs, since the beginning of August; of whom perhaps 2800 may have died of the yellow fever. Of the persons you mention by name, Mr. Willing & Mr. John Ross are alive and well. Mr. J. Sergeant, Mr. Howell a lawyer, brother in law to Mr. Rawle, & Colo. Franks, are dead; as well as many other valuable citizens. Mr. Powell's death was long since announced in the news-papers.

* From Archives Library of Congress. Also published in Life of Pickering, Vol. III.

Of the multitude that have died, I believe full three fourths have fallen victims to bad practice, and absolute neglect. This neglect was such, that nearest relatives have abandoned each other.—Many physicians persisted in the *stimulant* plan of cure, against the evidence of their senses. Yet at length, when themselves attacked by the disease, they have resorted to Dr. Rush's mode—bleeding and purging. One of them (Dr. Currie) in particular, in a publication of the 17th of September, pronounced bleeding & purging in the yellow fever, to be *certain death.* He has lately fallen sick, and rescued himself from the grave by *bleeding & purging!* Some others (probably most or all now) bleed & purge, but either inadequately, or counteract their effects by then giving bark and laudanum! To the last mentioned practice, the pious Dr. Sprout, one of his daughters, his son the Major (formerly aid to Genl. Hand) and his wife, have lately fallen sacrifices. In short, multitudes have been the unhappy victims of *ignorance & pride.* Dr. Kuhn early pronounced the disease to be *putrid & debilitating.* Dr. Stevens (who attended Col Hamilton) confirmed his errors: and they had many followers.* Kuhn soon

*"Doctor Rush's success, however, is great indeed. I understand that he has given his medicine to upwards of five hundred patients. He does not pretend to say they have all had the yellow fever, but many undoubtedly had, and he has lost only one since he adopted his new mode. He has acquired great honour in visiting everybody to the utmost of his power, but his applications have been so general that it was utterly

fled to a safe distance from the city: but has left his first opinion uncontradicted. That Rush's opinion was right, is confirmed by writers of indisputable authority, as well as large experience here. He, it is true, has lost a number of patients: but worn down with fatigue, he was not able to see divers of them at critical periods. From observation in my own family, of those who died as well as those who lived, I am *perfectly convinced* that terrible as the disease has proved, the cure of it, in common subjects, is *short* and *easy*, *if no time be lost in bleeding and purging*, according to the degree of inflammation. In a letter I lately wrote you, I mentioned the death of one of my sons: the other death in my family was of a maid servant. Eight have had the disease. Besides which, Mrs. P. & myself, without being confined, have experienced *new sensations* which we can attribute only to the contagion of the fever.— On my return from Canada, I found, unexpectedly, my family in the city; and a son and servant sick. Under such circumstances, it was impossible for me to find a house in the country for their reception and I could not abandon them. And when we had all been exposed to the contagion, I feared to remove from the

impossible to attend to all of them. But he directs the medicine and the Apothecaries prepare it.

Colonel and Mrs. Hamilton have both recovered by a mode quite different from Rush's, and which is published under the signature of Dr. Kuhn.

The different opinions of treatment excite great inquietude— But Rush bears down all before him."

From an unpublished letter, Knox to Washington, September 15th, 1793.

A. W. Elson & Co. Boston

Old Battle Scarred Doors of the Chew House

physician on whom I could depend. Numbers have removed with the infection, and died in the country. This in a few instances has happened in Germantown: but the disease has not otherwise been there.

If this city should remain infected till December, Germantown will not furnish accommodations for Congress: 'tis *crowded* with citizens of Philadelphia. Reading is a large village, containing several hundred houses, with a large court-house that might do for the house of Representatives; and probably some room elsewhere in the town might be found for the Senate.—I have several times thought on the ensuing session of Congress; but indeterminately on the safety of their meeting here the beginning of December. Dr. Rush thinks that by that time the city will be free of the contagion, here and there a solitary instance excepted, from which there can scarcely be any hazard. This is a well known fact—That a considerable increase of cold, even during a single day, has constantly been marked by a abatement of the number of deaths. If then in the height of the contagion, its effects were suspended by a day's cold, we may reasonably conclude that a continuance of cold with rains, which we may expect in November, will *destroy it*. And this is Dr. Rush's opinion.

I do not know what sentiments are entertained relative to the meeting of Congress. I will see Judge Peters and the Attorney General, and transmit you their opinions by the next post. I will afterwards write you weekly or oftener on the state of the disease, from

which you will be able to ascertain what course to pursue. But I would entreat you not to return hither yourself so soon as the beginning of next month—nor to any place in the neighbourhood, for you would be illy accommodated.

I am with the most
sincere respect,
Sir
Your obedt. & humble servant
Timothy Pickering

The President of the United States

The condition of affairs in Washington's Philadelphia home, left in the watchful care of Samuel Fraunces, the steward, and of Mrs. Emerson, the housekeeper, is disclosed in the following letter to the President from Fraunces:

Philada. 23d. October 1793—*

Hond. Sir

I received your letter last Evening—and it gives me the greatest Satisfaction that my conduct meets your approbation—was any accident to happen in the Family it would not be for want of my care and attention I strictly adhere to your directions in every point—The House is clean and ready for your return and every thing in proper order—I long to see you home

* Heretofore unpublished. From Archives Library of Congress.

where I think you will be as safe as any where—as our Neibourhood is entirely clear of infection—The Fever still continues to abate in the City but rages in Southwark & other out parts—You mention if any of the Family should be taken ill to take advice which cannot be done as there is no Person of any consequence left, but I hope we shall want none as your direction is quite sufficient—several Family's however begin to return as it is thought they may with Safety — I knew that the President lent Mr. Osborn Money & in consequence made an enquiry before I received your Letter, & found none but fifteen dollrs. with his distressed Wife which she took to the Hospital with her Trunk and some of his Cloaths are here which I detained untill I heard from you—The Trunk is locked what is in it I do not know—Mrs. Emerson is well and gives her duty to Madam but she is much oppressed in Spirits—

Yr. dutifull Servt.
Samuel Fraunces.

By the end of October, the deaths having greatly diminished, many citizens contemplated a return to the city. The committee issued a number of addresses on various dates, urging caution. They asked those whose homes had been closed to have them aired and purified. On November 4th the committee stated that

while the disorder had considerably abated, there was still danger to be apprehended. By the 14th of November they were able to advise the public that the city had been restored to its usual healthfulness, that no new cases of fever had occurred for several days, and that absent citizens, as well as those having business in the city, could return with safety. On the same day Governor Mifflin issued a proclamation, appointing Thursday, December 12th, as a day of humiliation, thanksgiving and prayer.

CHAPTER III

A Picture of Germantown in 1793

As early as 1744 John Wister had built the house No. 5261 Main Street for a summer residence. Each succeeding year saw an increasing number of Germantown places advertised in the city papers as for rent or for sale, especially suited as country residences.* One of the families who moved out from the city during the summer of 1793 was that of Henry Drinker, a Friend and prominent shipping merchant. He secured quarters with George Hesser, whose home was the house now No. 6749 Main Street. Fortunately for the purposes of this narrative, Elizabeth Drinker, wife of Henry, kept a diary of commonplace and family matters, and this journal gives a vivid picture of Germantown during this sad but eventful summer and fall.†

* "To be Lett for the Summer Season
(Upon very moderate Terms)
A large and commodious House, pleasantly situated
in Germantown, with a Kitchen, Chair-House, and Stable
for further particulars enquire of Doctor Bensell in Germantown."
Pennsylvania Gazette, May 7th, 1771.

† Extracts from the Journal of Elizabeth Drinker, edited by Henry D. Biddle, Philadelphia, 1889.

All the entries which throw any light on events as they transpired around them have been copied:

July 8. Second Day. Came to Germantown with James Pemberton and H. Drinker; stopped at John Salterbac's, where Hannah Pemberton has taken lodgings for the warm season. Drank tea there, came after tea to George Hesser's, near 8 miles from Philad[a], where Nancy Skyrin* has taken up her abode with her daughter for ye summer. Met Sally Emlen and Huldah Mott there; they reside at one Snider's half a mile from Nancy, nearer ye City.

July 16. A man went through Germantown this afternoon with something in a barrel to show, which he said was half man and half beast, and called it a Mande; we paid 5½ for seeing it. I believe it was a young Baboon; it looked sorrowful—I pitied the poor thing, and wished it in its own Country.

July 17. Molly and myself went after breakfast to Jacob Spicer's; they live at Mount Airy (the place) formerly belonging to William Allen; about ½ mile from G. Hessers.† John Skyrin came in ye afternoon—

*Nancy Skyrin, a daughter, wife of John Skyrin. The abbreviations N. S. and J. S. frequently occur. Other children were, the oldest daughter Sarah or "Sallie," wife of Jacob Downing, William Drinker and Henry S. Drinker, sons, and the youngest child Mary or Molly Drinker. They and the husband, Henry Drinker, are almost uniformly referred to by their initials.

† The site is now occupied by the Lutheran Theological Seminary.

George Hessers House
Now number 6749 Main Street

He went with Nancy [illegible] Molly to visit Nancy [illegible]
and Anne Wells, who [illegible]

July 2[illegible]. Nancy [illegible]
to ye Rose to hear M[illegible]

July 22. H. D. [illegible]
Nancy and I took a w[illegible]
full moonlight night. Stop [illegible]
a bottle Oil, to make oil of [illegible]
ye proper time to make it.

July 26. I pai[illegible] to Be[illegible]
woman near Hesser [illegible] took [illegible] Garden,
and amused me with as [illegible] of her H[illegible] I had
time to hear.

July 30. Polly P[illegible] Marshall
Jr. here this morning. [illegible] yself [illegible] walk
to a Frog pond this afternoon.

Aug. 16. John Gillenham [illegible] ried on second
day last. 'Tis a sickly time now [illegible], and there
has been an unusual number of [illegible] lately [illegible]

Aug. 1[illegible] First day. 'Tis seldo[illegible] or ye
Family comes to stay a night [illegible] bring
an account of the death of [illegible]

Aug. 20. Nan[illegible]
ing—called at Betty [illegible]
poor woman with three [illegible]
a week or [illegible] days ago [illegible]
Wells paid us a visit [illegible]
sickly in Philad[illegible]. Nan[illegible]
meadow just before sunset [illegible]
saw a more beautiful [illegible]

open in front to the Westward, ye Sun set without an intervening cloud, the Sky remained red for near an hour afterwards; the full Moon rising towards ye back of ye House, added charms to ye scene; ye weather very temperate.

Aug. 23. A Fever prevails in the City, particularly in Water St. between Race and Arch Sts. of ye malignant kind; numbers have died of it. Some say it was occasioned by damaged Coffee and Fish, which were stored at Wm Smiths'; others say it was imported in a Vessel from Cape Francois, which lay at our wharf, or at ye wharf back of our store. Doctor Hutchinson is ordered by ye Governor to enquire into ye report. He found, as 'tis said, upwards of 70 persons sick in that squre of different disorders; several of this putrid or bilious fever. Some are ill in Water St. between Arch and Market Sts., and some in Race street. 'Tis really an alarming and serious time.

Aug. 26. We have been rendered very uneasy this evening by hearsays from the City of a great number of funerals that have been seen this day there. Hope and believe that the number is greatly exaggerated. Wind at east and cloudy.

Aug. 27. A carriage stopped at Hesser's door to-day enquiring for lodgings—they could get none here, went further up ye road.

Aug. 28. H. S. D. left us about 6 this morning. I gave him a small spoonful of Daffy's Elixer, and Vinegar in a sponge, and a sprig of wormwood. J. S. went after breakfast using the same precautions.

This afternoon our Carriage, driven by a white man, a stranger, came up with Mattresses, Blankets, &c., and Sally Brandt behind—poor black Jo* gone away sick to some Negro house, where they have promised to take care of him, and Dr Foulk is desired to attend him. We have hopes it is not the contagious fever that he has.

Sister and H. D. came up in the evening, Docts. Kuhn and Rush both advised it, as there is a man next door but one to us, who Dr Kuhn says will quickly die of this terrible disorder.

Aug. 30. Jerry Warder and his family, went up the road this afternoon in a light Waggon; another with Blankets &c. with them, to a place of his, 6 or 7 miles farther up.

Aug. 31. Several families have moved up to Germantown.

September 1. First day. A large number of Philadelphians at Germantown meeting this morning. A man was found dead, a day or two ago on the Ridge road, who lay there a day or two unburied.

Sept. 3. W. D. and myself took a walk before sunset. As we were returning a man at a door stopped us to ask if we had heard the bad news; that several hundred French soldiers, armed, were coming to Philad[a] from New-York, and that 5 negroes were taken up for poisoning the Pumps; those are flying reports, and most likely false.

*Joseph Gibbs, the colored coachman.

Sept. 5. I took a walk with H. D. to the meadow to see them bind flax.

Sept. 6. John Cannon, one of the Council, drank tea with us, as he had business with my Husband. He took this in his way home, as the Council and Assembly have broken up on acct. of this very affecting Dispensation; the offices are almost all shut up, and little business done. The doors of the Houses where the infection is are ordered to be marked, to prevent any but those that are absolutely necessary from entering — such is the melancholy and distressing state of our poor City.

Sept. 8. First day. Wm Whitesides, tea merchant, died this morning at a place he had taken for his family near ye Germantown Road—he came out of ye City ill. 'Tis remarkable that not one negro has yet taken the infection—they have offered to act as nurses to the sick.

Sept. 9. Several carriages stopped to talk with H. D. Were informed of the death of Josiah Elfreth, who was buried as many others are, in 2 or 3 hours after their departure. None of our family have been to the City for upwards of a week past.

J. S. went this evening to S. Emlen's for M. D., who has been there this afternoon. She concluded to stay there all night, as they had heard of a man who came from ye City, who lay ill in a field near ye 8th milestone; that the Overseers would not go near him. We have also heard this acct, but 'tis not known whether the poor man is sick or in liquor — such are the fears of the people. Weather warm.

Sept. 10. Josiah Lusbey, who is with Jacob Baker at one Weavers', at a little distance from us, with their families, was here this forenoon. Informed us, that he was in ye City yesterday; that it was thought on First day last, from 50 to 100 had died, ye disorder having greatly increased; that in Arch St between Front and Second Sts, many had died, and many were ill.

The sick man who lay down in ye field yesterday, continued there all night; the overseers this morning went to take him away—he arose and walked with them.

Sept. 11. The poor sick man who has lain two nights in ye fields, was found this morning by the 7th milestone vomitting—he had now got among the inhabitants. J. Perot and others raised 4 dollars, for which sum a man took him away in a cart.

Our Jo Gibbs came up this forenoon looking pale and weak. We would have been as well pleased if he had gone elsewhere, but he wanted to be with us. George Hesser appears unwilling that Jo should stay in his house, as he came out of ye City and has been sick. H. D. sent him back with a letter to J. Drinker. He came up on foot—he has gone back on one of our Horses, to return to morrow with some Bed-Clothes for us.

Sept. 15. First day. A son of Dan[l] Thomas, miller, was buried this morning at Chestnut Hill of this fever. He came lately from ye City—several sick in Germantown, but 'tis not certainly known what ails them.

John Hampston dined with us. He came to Philad[a] on sixth day last, in a pilot boat from ye Capes,

where ye vessel he came in from Liverpool was aground. Could not get a lodging, and stayed in ye Court-House. Came on seventh day to John Fields, to whom he is recommended; he brought him this morning to Germantown to meeting, and left him with H. D. to get him a lodging, which he has done, at Hessers' tavern,* a little below us.

One Stine, next door to the Buck, over the road, not the 1/8th of a mile from us, is to be buried this evening.

Sept. 16. I took a short walk this evening with Sally Brant. Loaded waggons coming out of ye City, a melancholy sight. Last week was the time appointed to return home, if things had been as usual, as next week is the time of our Yearly meeting.

Sept. 18. Ye people moving in crowds from ye City.

Sept. 19. There is a Dr Warner† said to be very ill, at present in Germantown, of ye yellow fever, otherwise ye people here are generally healthy.

Sept. 20. M. D., who I expected was also gone to meeting with E. Emlen came home. They had been much alarmed at neighbor Sniders, where S. E. lodges, by one of the overseers calling over ye door, "be upon your guard, for the Doctor says, that ye woman over the way has the Disorder, and that very

* This was the Buck tavern, an old stopping place in upper Germantown.

† Dr. Jonathan Warner, a young man of 22 years, died December 24th, 1793.

badly." S. E. was so disturbed that they intend moving further off.

Sept. 21. Sally Emlen with all her family have moved from Christian Sniders to White-Marsh; they hired a waggon of Leonard Stoneburner to take their goods. 'Tis said that several persons are ill in Germantown.

Sept. 23. The poor woman opposite to Sniders is dead—nobody but her husband and several little children with her. Ye disorder rages in ye City. Jacob Baker and Josiah Lusby called—they say that Parson Blair has removed his family. Christopher Kucher is dead above us about the 11th milestone; he came from ye City some days past.

Ye widow of one Stine who died here about a week ago, went after her husband's death to ye City, where she also died.

Sept. 24. C. Kucher's body was carried by this morning in a Hearse, about 4 o'clock, to be interred in ye City. The woman that died opposite Sniders was buried yesterday. They say that nobody would assist, and her husband was under the necessity of putting her in her coffin, and that into ye Hearse—then a man took her to ye grave.

The New-York stage passed this door to day. They are endeavoring to stop ye communication between us and New-York—they are not permitted to cross at Trenton.

Sept. 26. The mournful accounts last evening from the City of increasing mortality affected our land-

lord, G. Hesser so, as to keep him all night awake on acct. of H. D. being in the City.

J. S. met on the road Thos Masters Cooper, with a sick son of his in the Chaise, a young man, who was very yellow with the disorder. He brought him out of Town—will find it difficult to get any admittance anywhere in ye country. The weather pleasant, tho' very dry and dusty.

Sept. 27. 'Tis generally agreed that this very alarming disorder is as bad, or worse than ever. S. Coats told some one in Germantown today, that there were 10 graves opened in Friends' burying ground this morning. I heard yesterday that Coffins were kept ready made in piles, near ye State-House for poor people. Jacob Baker's man was this evening in Hesser's kitchen; he says that his mistress's brother has been in town today, and reports that matters are better, and rather an abatement—so say some others. Perhaps they build on a change that has taken place in ye weather—it has rained somewhere, and the air is much cooler. J. Perot heard that they dig trenches in ye Potters field to bury ye dead.

Sept. 28. Michael Prager, a merchant of Philad[a] died this morning in Getmantown of ye Yellow Fever. He was refused a burying in ye burying places, and was interred in ye Orchard back of ye house where he died, a few hours after his decease.

Sept. 29. First day. H. Pemberton called in meeting time. She wished me to go with her to Jacob Spicer's. We went. She agreed with them to remove

tomorrow to their house. Elliston Perot buried his youngest child, a son, this morning in ye Germantown burying ground—it was not supposed he died of ye Yellow fever; his family are at Sansom's place, called Par la ville. This is the fourth child out of five that they have lost within 3 years; 2 sons of putrid sore throat, a little Daughter was overlaid by her nurse; they have one Daughter remaining.

Sept. 30. Jo Lion came up this afternon with a Letter from Ben. Wilson to H. D., another from Capt. Wetheral to J. S. Josey was by no means an acceptable visitor, as he acknowledges that he is daily with one who is ill of the Yellow fever. He says it is frequently ye case, that a person is dead and buried, and their next door neighbor knows nothing of it for many days after, occasioned, as one may suppose, by their keeping close house, and publick burials no more attended to.

October 1. Third day. Jacob Baker called; he intends leaving Germantown with his family for New-Castle. The people continue moving from ye City, two or three waggons loaded have passed the door this day.

Oct. 3. A fine clear morning. No Equinoctial storm as yet—I fear, if I may so say, it has passed over for this season.

Oct. 5. H. S. D.* took a walk this morning with

* Then a young man of twenty-four, possibly smoking his first cigar. It is said that cigars were not used in any quantity in Philadelphia before this time, and that smoking them along the streets as a disinfectant during the epidemic introduced them generally.

a Segar in his mouth which he smoked out, and soon after found himself very sick and in a sweat. He made shift to get into G. Hesser's Orchard, where he discharged his stomach; he was fearful of doing so on the road, lest he should be suspected of having the prevailing disorder. He came home sick and pale.

Oct. 6. I went after dinner, J. S. with me to visit H. Pemberton. We heard, as we returned, that a young man lay dead opposite the House where ye widow Mullen resides—which is near us. H. S. D. went this afternoon to Isaac Whartons'. He has purchased a place near J. Howel's, on ye Wissahickon. Davis, J. Skyrin's clerk dined here. He came out of the City—eat in ye back room. Emanuel Walker's wife dead, another Daughter of Jas. Starr, and a Doct. Goss also.

Oct. 7. The Lad that died over the road yesterday afternoon was buried last night.

Oct. 8. We have heard to day of the deaths of Jonathan Sergeant, lawyer, Rich[d] Courtney, tailor, Isaac Buckby, hatter, Major Franks, and Fleming, ye Romish priest.

Sun set clear, weather temperate, tho' rather warm for the season.

Oct. 9. Taking a walk this evening with H. D. towards the meadow by a cornfield that had been lately ploughed; the narrow road filled in places with stubble that had been thrown out of ye field, my foot turned under me, when I fell down, and was so strained and bruised that I could scarcely step with

Chew House, Hall and Stairway

help. My husband and G. Hesser made a chair with their hands, and brought me home on it with my arms around their necks, as I have seen children carry one another. I had it bathed with Opodeldock, and wrapped up in flannel, and tho' 'tis painful this evening, 'tis not so bad as I expected it would have been by what I felt when first hurt.

A very clear evening; it will be 7 weeks next first day since we have had any rain more than what we call a sprinkling.

Oct. 10. 'Tis youths meeting, or general meeting, held here once a year, on fifth day. Wm Savery, T. Fisher &c. here before meeting.

There was a marriage at meeting, Dan[l] Thomas and Agnes Johnson; marriage is solemn at all times, and doubly so at present. Joshua Morris and wife, Tommy and Nancy Morgan, Neigh[r] Waln, and Jacob Paxon dined with us. I have been most of this day on ye Bed, only while ye Bed was making—had my foot on a chair, as I cannot put it on ye ground. We have heard of more deaths this day than any day yet, and 'tis said that 150 were buried in ye City yesterday. Betsy Howel told after meeting that Dr. Rush has wrote to Will[m] Lewis, "that the disorder was now past the art of man or medicine to cure, that nothing but the power of the Almighty could stop it," or to this effect.

Oct. 11. I showed my foot this morning to Dr. Lusby, who desired me to change my method of treating it, which was vinegar and opodeldock, and after-

wards I bathed it with oil of St. Johnswort; but he orders lead water alone, twice a day. My husband and son William took a long ride this forenoon; they stopped at McCalls, at Isaac Whartons, and at John Fields. Billy Sansom stopped at our door on Horseback; he is finely recovered. As he just came out of ye City, we did not invite him in.

Oct. 14. There appears to be but a very poor prospect of crops of wheat, occasioned by the drought. Desolation, Cruelty and Distress have of late resounded in our ears from many quarters.

Oct. 17. M. Livezey and her daughter Nancy here this morning. Annabella Cresson dead. Ye widow Livezey, or rather her daughter, pr her order, put a plaster of white of Eggs on to my foot, and anointed it with ye Oil of St. Johnswort, it has felt very warm ever since. It may perhaps be right.

Seven persons, men and women, were this morning baptized, or dipped in a creek about 1½ miles from this place.* They are of the society of Dunkers; they differ from ye Anabaptists who are laid in ye water on their backs; those kneel in ye water and are dipped faces downwards, as I am informed. Great numbers went to see the performance. J. S., A. S., H. S. D., and M. D. went this evening to ye Dunkers' meeting.

* This was undoubtedly at the Baptistry, a point on the Wissahickon Creek near the foot of Kitchen's Lane and near the so-called "Monastery," still standing.

Oct. 21. A delightful, cool, frosty morning. 'Tis generally agreed that the fever is very much abated.

Oct. 23. Sammy Emlen has sent this afternoon to Marshal E. Carbotery's where he saw Casper Haines, who left the City about one o'clock. He said that at that time there had not been any funeral, or one grave opened in Friends' burying ground.

Oct. 24. Last night between 11 and 12 o'clock, I heard the cry of fire at a distance; on its near approach the family were soon alarmed. George Hesser pronounced it to be John Livezey's house or mill.* He went with his buckets. They have a fire company here and one Engine, which was soon on its way; and the people some on foot, others on horseback, were very numerous; but as it is two miles from Germantown, the Mill was burnt down. About 600 Bbls. Flour, 500 Bus. Wheat, a quantity of Salt and Ginger &c. 'Tis thought their loss will be near 3000 Pounds. John Pemberton, my husband, and William went this morning to visit the sufferers; found them pretty well, and much composed considering.

Oct. 26. A man to be buried this afternoon, not far from us, who 'tis thought died of the Yellow fever; and two women have lately died near us. 'Tis remarkable that no one has been known to take ye infection in the country of those who came out of the City. I have not heard of an instance where it has spread.

* Livezey's mill was on the Wissahickon at the foot of Livezey's Lane. The house is still standing and portions of the mill.

Oct. 27. The swelling in my foot not gone down, nor ye blackness gone off, tho' much better. I am not yet able to bear any weight on it—a hot itching in it to day, perhaps owing to the many poultices used.

Oct. 29. Widow Livezey here this morning. She applied a plaster of rosin and lard to my poor foot, as it makes still a disagreeable appearance.

November 1. It rained most of last night, and 'till noon this day, cloudy ever since. H. D. went to J. P's. Talks of going to town tomorrow.

Nov. 2. H. D. gone this morning to the City—it is our quarterly meeting. I had the agreeable intelligence from my children, that ye waggons were taking ye people and goods back to ye City. It has cleared up this morning with a fine frost. What a favorable reverse, which calls for humility and thanks.

Nov. 4. Charles Jervis called this morning; his family are at Waterman's, Bucks County. He dined with us. He informed that the widow Tellfare who went into the City last fifth day is since dead in the country.

Nov. 5. This afternoon Richard Downing stopped on Horseback. He came on business to the Governor, who keeps his office in Germantown.

A misty rain all day, and heavy shower this evening—wind blowing hard at northeast.

Nov. 6. H. D. and H. S. D. gone down town to ye Washington tavern* on business. The inhabitants

* Still a tavern, Washington Lane and Main Street.

of Philada were fast moving into the City before this Storm. 'Tis said, there were upwards of 20,000 had left their dwellings, and retired into the country.

Nov. 8. It is 4 months this day since I came to Germantown, where I have ever since continued.

I have walked across the room yesterday and today, without shoes, and with sister's help. If nothing more than the disorder in my foot ailed me, I believe I should now soon get bravely.

Nov. 9. Our disturbed City has been this day in great confusion on account of ye arrival of a French vessel with 400 passengers, a considerable number of them ill of the Yellow fever. H. D. went this evening to J. Lusby's to inquire concerning the report; he says, that he has seen a person from ye City this afternoon, who thinks 'tis not so bad as here reported.

Nov. 10. H. S. D. drank tea at Dr Logan's,* Dr. Parke there, whose opinion it is—that those who have moved out of the City, may safely return. 'Tis the sentiments of several other Physicians, as I have heard, within 2 or 3 days.

Nov. 13. When we arose this morning, it was snowing fast, ye houses and trees covered. How much more beautiful the appearance than in ye City! and what in ye country is not?

Nov. 15. H. D. came up this evening with Jo and the carriage in order to facilitate our departure. H. D. settled with G. H., paid him £——, our ex-

* Dr. George Logan, whose home was at Stenton.

penses for other things have been Considerable; for provisions, horses, &c. Fine moonlight night.

Nov. 16. After one o'clock, Noke came with their carriage; William and myself left Germantown with some of our luggage—ye roads but middling. We arrived at home between 2 and 3; found things in statu quo. H. D., with Nancy, her little one and Molly, came half an hour after in our carriage; Sam drove Betsy Hardy in ye chaise. We are all through mercy (tho' not in perfect health) highly favored. Ben. Wilson, John and Dan[l] Drinker called. Most of ye Philadelphians are returned to ye City.

The Billmeyer House

Northeast corner Main and Upsal Streets

CHAPTER IV

GERMANTOWN ESCAPES [illegible]

FOR many years prior to the Revolution Germantown had a reputation as a delightful summer resort for Philadelphians. Its situation on a ridge of hills [illegible] two to three hundred feet above the elevation of the city, its dry, porous soil, good drainage through the Wingohocking on the east and the Wissahickon on the west, with their branches [illegible] the still considerable area of forest growth [illegible] contributed to make the town a cool, pleasant [illegible] healthful summer home. While the [illegible] somewhat near each other on the Ma[illegible] each [illegible] surrounded by a little g[illegible] [illegible] ex[illegible] back [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] important [illegible] [illegible] the back [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] continuation into [illegible] [illegible] deep with du[illegible]

The Billmeyer House
Northeast corner Main and Upper Streets

CHAPTER IV

Germantown Escapes the Contagion

FOR many years prior to the Revolution Germantown had a reputation as a healthful summer resort for Philadelphians. Its situation on a ridge of hills from two to three hundred feet above the elevation of the city, its dry, porous soil, good drainage through the Wingohocking on the east and the Wissahickon on the west, with their branches, and the still considerable area of forest growth—all contributed to make the town a cool, pleasant and healthful summer home. While the houses were somewhat near each other on the Main Street, each one was surrounded by its little garden or orchard and some of them had good sized farms extending back in narrow fields, for, in addition to the skill of the citizens as artisans, agriculture was still an important part of their occupation.

It is true the lack of communication with Philadelphia was a drawback. The Main Street and its continuation into the city was notoriously bad, deep with dust in dry weather and

almost impassable with mud after every heavy rain. Hardly a day passed in bad weather without an accident of some kind: wagons stalled, upset or broken, and horses injured by the exertions or the pitfalls in the way. This was the main highway to and from the north, over which great quantities of supplies were carried back and forth. At this time there was a number of large stores doing an extensive business, selling and exchanging the city commodities with farmers who feared or were unable to take their country produce into the city. It was not until 1800–1, and then after considerable opposition, that a turnpike charter was secured and the road macadamized.

As has been stated, Germantown's private houses and inns, during the fateful summer of 1793, were filled to overflowing. Those of the city who had relatives who could take them in were fortunate indeed. Such a one was Zachariah Poulson, librarian of the Library Company of Philadelphia, who was with his wife's uncle, Jacob Knorr, who lived at the northeast corner of the Main Street and Washington Lane. Writing to Dr. Thomas Parke, one of the directors of the library, he says:

Germantown, September 27, 1793.*

My Dear Sir,

The Anxiety I feel for your Safety has led me to make many Inquiries were seldom answered in a satisfactory manner I am induced to trouble you for the desired Information. I sincerely regret, with you, the loss of those of your Connections, and the many other valuable Citizens, who have fallen victims to the Disorder which is unhappily depopulating our City. Though I have, in some measure, withdrawn myself and family from its baneful Influences, yet, I sincerely lament its Effects and sorrowfully sympathize with those who are left within its reach and hourly behold its ravages. Your Situation is an hazardous one —Every precaution should be taken for your own preservation. For the sake of your dear Family—for the sake of your Friends—be careful of yourself. Let not your benevolence lead you beyond the bounds of which Prudence dictates. Several of your Profession have already fallen. Their friends and the Community at large have cause now to regret that they ventured too much and are no more in a Situation to be useful. If your numerous avocations will permit you to favor me with a few lines they will be highly acceptable. I stay with my wife's Uncle Jacob Knorr— a little above the seven mile stone.—If they are left with the widow of Reuben Haines, in Market Street, they will be safely forwarded to me. Previous to my departure from the City I carefully secured the win-

* Manuscript letter in possession of Pennsylvania Historical Society.

dows and doors of the Library, and directed one of my boys, who declined to leave the city while his parents remained there, to go round it daily—this service, he tells me, he faithfully performs. I was exceedingly anxious of obtaining your approbation of the measure, but I had not the pleasure of finding you at home. I have the hope, however, that the necessity of the Case will justify me to you and the other Directors. I am desirous of returning as soon as it can be done with safety, and, I shall esteem it a particular favor if you will be pleased to give me an intimation of the happy time as soon as it arrives. I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Rawle and family in health yesterday—if you have any Commands to him they may be conveyed to me by the above named Channel and I will deliver them myself. The last time I notified the Directors to attend none came but Mr. Poultney—now, alas, he is no more! He staid with me two hours—our Conversation was, for the most part, serious—and made a deep impression upon me. It is said, That Those who *mourn* shall be *comforted*—We have now many Causes for *mourning;* but when shall we be *comforted?* When will it please the Almighty to remove the great Calamity which destroys our Relatives and Friends? It seems to be the duty of every individual to unite in addressing the Great Disposer of Human Events to take from us this calamitous Scorge.

A few Persons who came from the City have died of the Disorder at and near Germantown. Doctor

Warner of this place has had it above twelve days—it is said he is getting better—It is also reported that Mr. Pragers has it here. The people of this place dread it much—if a person from the City has only a common fever he is immediately forsaken. Two men in the neighbourhood, who had the misfortune to lose their wives with the Fever, were necessitated to bury them with the assistance of only one person. I do not know of a house in this place in which a person from the City could get lodgings unless he could prove that he had been some days from the city. There are many Philadelphians here and in the neighbourhood. I had the pleasure of seeing Dr. Wistar ride through Germantown—he looks better than I expected, but seems very feeble—He told me that he had handed Mr. Bache his Case for publication.

Next Thursday is the stated time for the Directors to meet, but, as the cause which prevented them from assembling on the fifth of this month still exists, it will be hardly necessary to notify them. Hardie left town before the Library was closed—Pray are any of the Officers and Directors in town beside yourself? Is my good friend S. Coates still with you? I hope our friend R. Wells is out of danger. I am very desirous of knowing how it is with you—do, therefore, favour me with a few Lines. The Bearer waits and I have only time to add, that

I am, with great Respect,
Your sincere and much obliged
Friend and Servant

Doctor Thomas Parke. Z. Poulson, Junr.

P. S. Mrs. Poulson is looking over my Shoulder and says I must not close this without adding her Compliments to you.

Friday, Three o'Clock in the Afternoon.

God preserve you and yours.

The desire of the villagers and their guests for news from the stricken city was often more than balanced by fear of the messenger. Jacob Hiltzheimer, in his diary, records that on the 14th of October he rode out as far as Germantown, "which," he says, "is fillled with Philadelphians who are anxious to hear the news from the city, but kept their distance when they found we were from there."

Apparently safe from the contagion, the boarders and the people of Germantown were not unmindful of their duty to their fellow citizens, and steps were taken early in October to raise money for the relief of the poor. A public meeting was held, an organization effected, and the health committee in the city was notified by Gideon H. Wells, on behalf of the meeting, that aid might be expected. A few days later, October 13th, John Dunlap, chairman of the meeting, forwarded to the committee $1,106 and a subscription of credit for obtaining a loan from the bank, of eight or

ten thousand dollars. Again a few days later Benjamin Wistar Morris handed to the committee contributions of over a thousand dollars. In all, citizens in and around Germantown sent a total of $2,472.

The list of contributors is valuable as disclosing the citizens who had found homes in the suburb, although several in the following list were permanent residents of Germantown:

Samuel Pleasants & Sons	$50	David Evans, carpenter	$30
Isaac Wharton	50	Jacob Eckfelt	10
Caleb Carmalt	10	John Fries	50
Reuben Haines	50	Thomas Fisher	50
Elliston & John Perot	100	John Fromberger	50
Hartshorne, Large & Co.	100	John Field	50
Robert Wharton	50	George Fox	50
Joseph Swift	50	Samuel Fox	50
Jesse & Robert Waln	200	James & Samuel Fisher	100
George Roberts	50	John Hallowell	30
Samuel Dilworth	12	George Lauman	50
James Craig, Jr.	30	Jonathan Meredith	50
Nicholas Waln	100	Thomas Morgan	25
Mordecai Lewis	50	Archibald McCall	100
Conyngham, Nesbit & Co.	50	William Rawle	30
George Emlen	50	William Savery	30
John Nixon	50	Joseph Sansom	25
Joseph Budd	30	Robert Smith	50
Boller & Jordon	30	John Vaughan	100
Valentine Bettinger	4	John Wagner	15
Peter Blight	100	Wells & Morris	100
Doctor Betton	5	Jeremiah Warder	50
Joseph Crukshank	50	John Warder	50
Cash	6	Charles Young	50
John Dunlap	50		

It is an interesting fact, in view of our pres-

ent knowledge of yellow fever, that not a single death from yellow fever occurred in Germantown of a native of the village, and in every case where death did occur it was of someone who contracted the disease elsewhere.

So far as known, no account was kept of the victims of the fever who found a refuge and last resting place in Germantown. In addition to the deaths mentioned in the foregoing diary, the following are given in Matthew Carey's list of burials from August 1st to the middle of November,* each designated with the word "Germ" following their name, apparently indicating that they had been buried in Germantown:

Hannah Falkenburger, Jacob Felty, Christopher Fite, shoemaker, Margaret Fossom, John Gobblegought, John Good, labourer, Catharine Cosner, Philip Hall, butcher, Jacob Hammond, sugar baker, wife and child, ——— Hansell, Mary Horne, Catharine House, William Hyser, painter, Maria Hyson, Catharine Lutz, Christiana Oatenheimer, Peter Oatenheimer's wife, Philip Oatenheimer's wife, Henry Plates, baker, Catharine Poop, Francis Powers, labourer, Barbara Preston, Conrad Smith, farmer, Margaret Spotts,

* See a Short Account of the Malignant Fever Lately Prevalent in Philadelphia. The 4th edition. Philadelphia, 1794.

Catharine Sternkarl, servant, Paul Stromfeltz, mealman, and wife, Jacob Sunnock, labourer.

Contrary to expectations, the yellow fever did not recur the following year; in fact, it was not until 1797 that it again appeared in Philadelphia in epidemic form. Then again in 1798 and 1799 it swept the city. But experience having shown there was safety in the suburbs, every one who could fled from the city, and in none of these years was the mortality so great as in 1793.* These visitations had the effect of again filling Germantown's homes and inns. The periodic return of the disease led a number of business men to engage quarters from one summer until the next, and what was Philadelphia's misfortune was a gain to Germantown. In 1798 and '99 the Banks of North America, Pennsylvania, and the United States removed their deposits and books to Germantown. The first two named were quartered in the Academy building and the latter in a coffee house along the Main Street. Some merchants brought their goods and opened stores, and when other trades

* As officially reported the deaths were:

1793 . . .	4,041	1798 . . .	3,637
1797 . . .	1,292	1799 . . .	1,015

or professions could be carried on, shops and offices were opened. The Governor of the State and some of the minor offices also found refuge in Germantown.

For the suffering city steps were promptly taken to send a full measure of relief. Committees to collect funds and supplies were formed and work provided for the unemployed. The ministers, Mr. Blair and Mr. Abercrombie, preached charity sermons in the Market Square church, from which on one occasion over four hundred dollars were realized.

The account of one year's visitation reads very much like that of another. About the only permanent effect on Germantown which this great annual influx of visitors made was to greatly encourage the use of the English language and English customs, and to induce some of the Philadelphians to make it their permanent home.

CHAPTER V

Where Shall Congress Meet?

VERY soon after his arrival at Mount Vernon, Washington's thoughts were turned to the question as to where Congress should meet. The Constitution had been in force but little more than four years, and there were yet many problems to be solved in connection with it. Questions of form and procedure in minor matters, which seem unimportant to us now, were considered and debated at great length. The President was marking out new paths, and he was anxious that in all matters he should do what was right. It seemed probable that on account of the distemper in Philadelphia, it would be impossible for Congress to meet there, but would it be right for the President to call them together at any other place, in view of the fact that Congress itself had, by law, fixed its own place of meeting? The question was further complicated by the fact that part of the bargain in fixing the permanent seat of government at the new Federal City on the banks of the Potomac, Pennsylvania had been given the temporary seat of government for the ten years from 1790 to 1800. It

was rightly surmised that Pennsylvania would object to Congress assembling anywhere outside the State. Whether it was better that they should not meet in Philadelphia, and how to call them legally to some other spot, and what that place should be, were questions which for a month agitated Washington and his cabinet. When Jefferson stopped at Mount Vernon on his way home, the question had been considered and the Secretary of State had given an off-hand opinion that neither the constitution nor the laws conveyed power to the executive to convene Congress at any other place than that which it had fixed upon. Washington had written to the Attorney General, September 30th, asking for a formal opinion, but not having received it by October 11th, he wrote fully to Jefferson,*

*Interesting as showing the expense of forwarding letters at this time is the following bill for delivering this particular one:

Richmond, Oct. 15th, 1793

Dear Sir:

Enclosed I have the honor to transmit a voucher for the expense of forwarding your letter to the Secretary of state, as requested in yours of the 11th Instant: being thirteen dollars, & a third of a dollar, the milage is that which has been established by the Executive of the State; for such service & a faithful express is not to be got lower.

I have the honor to be with the greatest
respect Your most Obt Servant
Ed—Carrington

The President
of the United States

From the Archives of Library of Congress. Heretofore unpublished.

asking him whether the importance and urgency of the case would justify him in calling Congress together at some other place, and if so, where?

If Germantown was affected by the malady, it would not do. Wilmington and Trenton were both on the great highway and equally dangerous, on account of the liability of infection. Annapolis had convenience, but it might appear that the President was not disinterested in calling it so near his home. What sort of a town was Reading and how it would answer? Lancaster would be most favorable to the southern members. As the time of meeting was drawing near, he asked Jefferson to prepare some proper instrument, if this should seem best to him, and forward the paper to Mount Vernon, leaving a blank as to the place of meeting.

On October 13th Washington wrote to Jonathan Trumbull,* Speaker of the House of Representatives, asking his advice in the premises; the next day he wrote to Randolph, Hamilton, Madison, Oliver Wolcott and Timothy Pickering and on the following day to Knox. Wolcott and Pickering were at or near Phila-

*Trumbull's answer will be found in full in a subsequent chapter.

delphia, and his letters to them were couched substantially in the same terms. He asked them to write him at once precise information as to the situation. Had the contagion reached Germantown, as was reported? If not, what conveniences would that town afford for the assembling of Congress, provided it was necessary to meet there? If Germantown should be considered unsafe, what other place would they suggest? What sort of a place is Reading? How would it answer for the accommodation of Congress? He concluded his letter with a complaint that the news he had received was vague and unsatisfactory.

The letters to Randolph, Madison and Hamilton all asked for advice as to the legal aspects of the case, and for their opinions as to the best course in the emergency. The letter to Madison follows:

Mount Vernon, 14 October, 1793.*

My Dear Sir:—

The calamitous situation of Philadelphia, and the little prospect, from the present appearance, of its eligibility to receive Congress by the first Monday in December, involve a serious difficulty. It has been

*From Sparks' Writings of Washington.

intimated by some, that the President ought, by proclamation, to convene Congress a few days before the abovementioned period, at some other place; and by others, that, although in extraordinary cases he has the power to convene, he has none to change the place. Mr. Jefferson, when here on his way home, was of the latter opinion; but the laws were not fully examined, nor was the case at that time so serious as it now is. From the attorney-general, to whom I have since written on this subject, requesting an official opinion, I have received no answer, nor is it likely I shall soon, as I believe he has no communication with Philadelphia.

Time presses, and the malady, at the usual place of meeting, is becoming more and more alarming. What, then, do you think is the most advisable course for me to pursue in the present exigency? Summon Congress to meet at a certain time and place, in their legislative capacity? Simply state facts and say that I will meet the members at the time and place just mentioned for ulterior arrangements? Or leave matters as they are, if there is no power in the executive to alter the place legally? In the first and second cases, especially the first, the delicacy of my naming a place will readily occur to you. My wish would be, that Congress could be assembled at Germantown, to show that I meant no partiality, leaving it to themselves, if there should appear to be no prospect of getting into Philadelphia soon, to decide what should be done thereafter. But accounts say, that some people have

died in Germantown also of the malignant fever. Every death, now, however, is ascribed to that cause, be the disorder what it may. Wilmington and Trenton are nearly equidistant from Philadelphia, in opposite directions; but both are on the great thoroughfare, and equally exposed to danger from the multitude of travellers, and neither may have a chamber sufficient for the House of Representatives. Annapolis and Lancaster are more secure and both have good accommodations. But to name either of them, especially the first, would be thought to favor the southern convenience; and, perhaps, might be attributed to local views, especially as New York is talked of for this purpose. Reading, if there are proper conveniences there, would favor neither the southern nor northern interest most, but would be alike to both.

I have written to Mr. Jefferson on this subject. Notwithstanding which, I would thank you for your opinion, and that fully, as you see my embarrassment. I even ask more. I would thank you, not being acquainted with forms, to sketch some instrument for publication, adapted to the course you may think it would be most expedient for me to pursue in the present state of things, if the members are called together as before mentioned.

The difficulty of keeping clerks in the public offices had in a manner put a stop to business before I left Philadelphia; and the heads of departments having matters of their own, which called them away, has prevented my return thither longer than I had in-

tended. I have now desired the different Secretaries to meet me there, or in the vicinity, the 1st of next month, for which I shall set out the 27th or the 28th of the present.

The accounts from the city are really affecting. Two gentlemen now here from New York, Colonels Platt and Sergeant, say, that they were told at the Swedes' Ford of Schuylkill, by a person who had it from Governor Mifflin, that, by an official report from the mayor of the city, upwards of three thousand and five hundred had died, and that the disorder was raging more violently than ever. If cool weather, accompanied by rain, does not put a stop to the malady, distressing indeed must be the case of that city, now almost depopulated by removals and deaths.

I am, dear Sir, &c.

Within ten days the replies began coming. Jefferson reaffirmed his opinion that the President could not call Congress elsewhere in the following terms:

"I have carefully considered the question whether the President may call Congress to any other place than than to which they have adjourned themselves, and think he cannot have such a right, unless it has been given him by the Constitution or the laws, & that neither of these has given it. The only circumstance which he can alter, as to their meeting, is that of time by calling them at an earlier day than that to

which they stand adjourned, but no power to change the place is given. Mr. Madison happened to come here yesterday after the receipt of your letter. I proposed the question to him, and he thinks there was particular caution intended & used in the diction of the Constitution to avoid giving the President any power over the place of meeting; lest he should exercise it with local partialities.

"With respect to the Executive, the Residence law has fixed our offices at Philadelphia till the year 1800, & therefore it seems necessary that we should get as near them as we may with safety.

"As to the place of meeting for the legislature, were we authorized to decide that question, I should think it right to have it in some place in Pennsylvania, in consideration of the principle of the Residence bill, & that we might furnish no pretext to that state to infringe them hereafter. I am quite unacquainted with Reading, & its means of accommodation. Its situation is perhaps as little objectionable as that of Lancaster, & less so than Trenton or perhaps Wilmington. However I think we have nothing to do with the question, & that Congress must meet in Philadelphia even if it be in the open fields, to adjourn themselves to some other place."*

Wolcott's answer was dated "Smith's House (near Falls of Schuylkill), October 20th." In

* This letter is given in full in Ford's edition of the Writings of Jefferson.

it he gives a comprehensive account of the disorder as it existed at that date, most of which information has already been given in other places. There are one or two paragraphs, however, which throw new light on the movements of the executive circle, with which this account is chiefly interested. He wrote:

Sir,

I have had the honour to receive your Letter dated the 14th instant and have lost no time in obtaining the best information in my power, on the several questions therein stated.

The malady with which the City is afflicted, has been progressive, from the time of your departure, untill Monday the 14th instant, at which time it had nearly extended through the City.—Several small remissions have been observed during that period, all of which were confined to cool days, when the wind was in the northern quarter — whenever the wind has has shifted towards the South, the number of the sick & the mortality have invariably increased.—On Monday there was a slight fall of rain—which was succeeded by cool days and several frosty nights.—the mortality of course greatly diminished and but few comparatively fell sick.—the three last days have been more warm, and the unfavourable effects, are at present rather increasing.—

From repeated observations it may be infered that

the cause of the malady still exists.—that its activity is increased by heat and diminished by cold—and that the City will not be purified and rendered safe, untill after heavy rains or severe frost.

It was very lately Doct. Rush's opinion that the disorder was more *violent* & more *fatal* than at the time of its first appearance in the city.—

Nothing certain is known of the number of victims; for some time, information on this point was carefully concealed; but from *data* which cannot be very erroneous I judge, that more than four thousand persons have died.

Mr. Willing was for some time sick, but has recovered, Mr. John Ross, has resided in the country, and is I presume well;—Mr. Sergeant & Colo. Franks are dead—several gentlemen of the name of Howell have died, & among them a relation of Mr. Rawle who was much esteemed.—the accountant of the War Department, has been indisposed, but he has recovered and is now in the Country. There is no point on which the public opinion is more unsettled, than in respect to the degree of danger which attends any given position in the vicinity of Philadelphia.—It is certain that some gentlemen of good sense and those not deficient in firmness on ordinary occasions, have removed from the villages and estates in the neighbourhood of the City, to more interior situations.—a greater number who have not removed, remain at home completely insulated from society.—

I have regularly obtained good information of the

state of the City, and the adjoining places, and it is my opinion, that the disorder is generally if not solely communicated by specific contagion—that its ravages have been confined to no age, sex, or temperament—and that it has affected those classes of citizens most extensively, who have been most exposed to intercourse with each other.—I mention in proof of this opinion, that six Clerks of the Treasury Department, seven persons employed by the Collector of the Customs—a number of Clerks in the different Banks and three persons in the Post Office have fallen victims—several others have been afflicted, who have recovered—being in the whole a very great proportion of all those who have been exposed.—A number of persons, belonging to, or resident in the Country, have contracted the disorder by occasional visits to the City—Mr. Powel doubtless lost his life in consequence of a humane visit to his house in town, to provide for the accomodation of a favourite servant.—The malady moreover appears to be contagious by having been constantly observed to extend and diverge, from infected places.—though it is now spread nearly through the City, yet there are some neighbourhoods where it has not yet appeared.—

There has all along been a considerable diversity of opinion, in respect to the cause, nature and manner of communicating the malady.—some have supposed that it was generated in the City—certain facts have however, been recently stated to me, by men of indisputable honour, which leaves no doubt on my mind,

that it was introduced by an American Vessel, with French passengers & property from Hispaniola.—It has also been asserted on respectable authority, that there has been no instance of the disorder being communicated to any person who has constantly resided out of the City.—I must admit that of the number who have died in the villages and places adjacent to the City, I have known of no instance where the person afflicted, had not visited the City—if the observation should be found true in the latitude it has been made, it would militate with the opinion, which I have advanced and would go far to prove, that a resident near the City, admitting the malady to continue, would be absolutely safe.

The Philadelphians will not abandon their present exputation, that the City will be purified and safe before the meeting of Congress, without painful reluctance—in that event it would be their wish and that of the people adjacent that Congress should convene, as near as possible to the City.—Lancaster, Wilmington & Germantown have been mentioned—it is supposed that the latter place would under all circumstances afford the best accomodations—

I have made full enquiry & entertain no doubt that the town is free from contagion—it is certain, that at present, not an individual is affected with the prevailing malady.

I have conversed with a Magistrate of the place and am informed by him & other persons, that if events should render it necessary, every exertion will

be made to accomodate Congress and the public Officers—the School House,* with the adjoining buildings, may in my opinion, at a small expense, be fitted up & altered, so as to afford tolerable accomodations for the two houses & their immediate Officers.

I have called at the house of the Attorney General near Germantown, and was informed that he was at Lancaster, but was expected soon to return—it was suggested that your letter had been recd. and that measures had been taken for engaging a house, the result of which, were not known.—

Col Hamilton is in New Jersey, on his way to this place, I shall therefore retain the Letter to him, untill his arrival.—Genl Knox is I presume from the best information I can obtain, at Boston, to which place, I shall address the Letter transmitted to me by Mr. Dandridge, which has been just received.—

It has been just told me, that Doct. [Frederic] Phile the Naval Officer is dead;—though unfounded reports are often circulated I fear that this is true.—

I have the honor to be
with the most perfect respect
Sir, your most obed. &
humble servant
Oliv: Wolcott.†

The President of the
United States

* This was the Academy.

† From Archives Library of Congress. Also given in Volume I, Gibbs' Administrations of Washington and Adams.

Pickering's answer to Washington's letter has already been given in full, on page 30.

Hamilton arrived home on the 23d, restored beyond expectation by the exercise incident to his journey and the northern air. He hastened to answer his chief's letter, writing on the 24th. Hamilton advised that the President's discretion extended both to the time and place of calling Congress together. Under the constitution he could convene both houses of Congress on an extraordinary occasion. Nothing is said as to time and place; therefore Hamilton thought they both stood on the same footing. But after all, he doubted whether a contagious disease was an "extraordinary occasion," and as there were a number of respectable opinions against calling Congress to any other place, he acquiesced in this opinion. He thought, however, that the President could "recommend" a place of preliminary rendezvous, that the members might informally concert what further steps to take. He continues:—

"The question then would be, What place is the most eligible? Obvious reasons render it desirable, that it should be as near Philadelphia as may consist with the motive for naming such a place, to wit, the

safety of the members. 1. Innovation upon the existing arrangement with regard to the seat of government ought to be avoided as much as possible. 2. Congress may think it necessary for regularity to go within the limits of the city (though but for an hour) to give legality by some summary act to another place of meeting, and with this view it will be convenient to meet at no great distance from the city. 3. The place recommended may influence the place of session. The President and heads of departments ought to be near Congress, but they cannot long be remote from their offices; and a removal of the public offices for one session would be in many ways an evil. Lastly, the less the President in such cases departs from the preestablished course, the less room there will be for cavil.

"All these reasons would operate in favor of Germantown, if competent only to the momentary accommodation of Congress. Mr. Peters and some other gentlemen affirm, that it is. I have myself great doubt on the point, and I have not had time to examine; but I cannot help paying deference to the opinion of those who assert its competency."*

Mr. Madison's opinion was written on the same day, October 24th, and, by the way, it is a coincidence that the answers of Randolph, Hamilton and Madison should all have been

* From Sparks' Edition, Washington's Writings, Volume X.

written on this date. Madison agreed with Jefferson that the executive had no authority, under the Constitution or laws of the United States, to summon Congress at a time and place to be named by him. He, therefore, thought that the President should abstain from interposition. He did think, however, that the President might notify Congress of the obstacle to a meeting in Philadelphia, state the lack of a regular provision for the exigency, and suggest his purpose of repairing to a place deemed most eligible for carrying on the work of the government. He concluded with the form of a proclamation, which, in his judgment, would be appropriate:

"Whereas a very dangerous and infectious malady, which continues to rage in the City of Philadelphia, renders it indispensable that the approaching Session of Congress should be held, as well as the Executive Department be for the present administered, at some other place; And whereas no regular provision exists for such an emergency, so that, unless some other place be pointed out at which the members of Congress may assemble in the first instance, great embarrassments may happen; under these peculiar circumstances, I have thought it incumbent on me to notify the obstacle to a meeting of Congress at the ordinary place of

A.W. Elson & Co. Boston

The Albarger House

Number 130 West School House Lane. Occupied by Washington in 1793

their Session, and to recommend that the several members assemble on the day appointed at....., in the State of....., at which place I shall be ready to meet them.

G. W. P. U. S.*

As Randolph was in Germantown and his answer contains several bits of local coloring as well as his opinion that Germantown could not accommodate Congress, his reply is given in full:

Spencer's October 24, 1793.†

Sir

My messenger, who carried into Philadelphia yesterday the letter, which I had the honour of addressing to you at Baltimore, brought from the post-office your favor of the 14th instant. It is but lately, that I could procure an intercourse with it: but he will go in again to-morrow, in order to convey this letter, and receive any others, which you may have thought proper to write to me.

I have travelled over the subject of your interposition as to the place for the next session of Congress; but have not been able to complete my remarks on paper. They will be ready at your arrival at German-Town. In the mean time, I beg to suggest the result of my reflections, as being adverse to a call of congress from the executives. It seems to be unconstitutional.

* From Writings of James Madison, Volume I.

† Heretofore unpublished. From Archives Library of Congress.

It is also unnecessary at this moment; for if the two houses should happen to meet within the limits of Philadelphia on the first monday in december, they may adjourn to some other place: if they do not meet, then the President will stand justified to convene them; inasmuch as a failure to meet in the present posture of public affairs on the appointed day will, by producing a well-grounded apprehension, that they may not assemble for a long time, of itself create an "*extraordinary occasion.*" Some days may be lost, if the members may not have come into the neighbourhood; but not many more, than by the adjournment of their own to a new place. By my mode the object will be accomplished in an easy and natural course: by a summons from the President serious discontents may be excited.

I ought however to inform you, sir, that the governor of Pennsylvania, (whose authority is, so far as the constitution of this state goes, nearly the same with yours) will probably call his legislature a few days before the regular meeting to German-Town; instead of Philadelphia. Mr. Dallas* thinks, that he may do so with safety; but the question is to be submitted to the attorney-general. He tells me, that Mr. Rawle† is of opinion, that altho' you should convene congress, they must assemble in the first instance at Philadelphia. I

*Alexander J. Dallas, then Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

†William Rawle, U. S. District Attorney for Pennsylvania.

intended to have consulted with him and Mr. Lears; but having heard from Major Lenox, that Colo. Hamilton came home last night, I shall postpone going over to them, until I can converse with him. But in pursuance of your instruction, I enclose, what appears to be a proper proclamation, if my sentiments should unfortunately not accord with your decision.

Concerning the place; I can with certainty give you the character of such towns in this state, as you have named. German-Town cannot accommodate congress with tolerable satisfaction; it will be surcharged with the assembly and congress together; it is not willing to enter upon the task; and a great part of the very furniture, which would be used, would be drawn from Philadelphia itself—I called at Reading on Saturday last; and Judge Rush, who lives there asserted, and I believe from my examination, with truth, that it could not accommodate congress. The public building might answer well enough, but if the President should carry them to a place, where house-room and supplies would be scanty, because the demand is unexpected, multitudes would feel sore.—Lancaster is able and willing to provide for congress in every shape; and I hope to receive in a day or two a statement of the arrangements, which can be made for their reception. In this place the Pennsylvania members will concur, and probably in no other out of Philadelphia. It is an universal persuasion, that, unless Lancaster be chosen, New York will be revisited by congress.—Your observation on Annapolis is too

striking not to command an instantaneous assert. Wilmington and Trenton, besides being thoroughfares, are beyond the limits of Pennsylvania, who thinks herself intitled by a kind of compact to retain the temporary seat of government within its own bosom.

There can be no doubt of several persons dying in, and about German-Town, with the yellow fever.

Dr. Rush has written to Dr. Shippen, that he may advertize for the commencement of the medical lectures about the first day of december; as the disorder has abated. This may be the case; but many discerning men think differently.

I have the honor, sir, to be, with the highest respect, and true attachment

yr. mo. ob. serv.

Edm: Randolph.

The President.

Enclosed in this letter, Randolph forwarded the rough form of a proclamation, which is radically different from Madison's in that it assumes to the President authority to convene Congress at a place different from that to which it had adjourned.

A Proclamation*

By the President of the United States.

Whereas the situation of public affairs requires,

*Heretofore unpublished. From Archives Library of Congress.

that the ensuing session of congress should not be postponed beyond the first monday in december next, being the day appointed by the constitution of the United States for the assembling thereof; and there is reason to doubt, whether the city of Philadelphia, the temporary seat of government, which for some time past hath ~~laboured under~~ been visited with a contagious fever, may on that day be fit for their reception: I do therefore, by virtue of the power, in me vested by the said constitution, to convene congress on extraordinary occasions, by these presents convene the senate and house of representatives of the United States, at in the state of on the day of next: And I do accordingly hereby notify to the members of the said senate and house of representatives respectively, then and there to attend for the dispatch of legislative business.

Qu: Altho' the above is in the best form, which occurs to me, does it not exhibit many objections to the thing itself, if it be really the best form?

Colonel Pickering rode out to Germantown October 22d, as he had stated he would in his letter to Washington the day before, to see for himself what could be done for the accommodation of the President and Congress, and the following day, the 23d, he again wrote, giving the impressions he had received:

Philadelphia Octr. 23. 1793.*

Sir,

I wrote you by Monday's post. That afternoon I went to see Mr. Peters;† and had the pleasure to find that your accommodation and a suitable provision for Congress had engaged the attention of him and divers other citizens of Philadelphia who were scattered in the adjacent country. They have had some consultations on the subject; and will continue them until suitable provision shall be made; of which he has promised to give me early information.

It is Mr. Peters's opinion that the city will be perfectly safe for the assembling of Congress the first week in December: but lest it should be otherwise, competent provision will be made at Germantown. He says that a number of the citizens of Philadelphia are preparing to quit Germantown, for places on the river where they can better receive and dispose of their fall goods. These removals & the other measures which he and his fellow citizens will take, will make room for the members of Congress. He says also, that an Academy and an adjacent building at Germantown will answer very well for the meeting of the two houses of Legislature. Their first object will be to provide for you the most convenient house the adjacent country will afford, to which, if you think proper

* From Archives of Library of Congress. A portion of this letter is published in Life of Pickering, Vol. III.

†Richard Peters, Judge of the U. S. District Court.

you can soon resort. I will give you the earliest notice when this provision is made.

As I mentioned in my last, the fever has not been known in Germantown, except with persons who had carried the infection from the city. And Mr. Peters mentioned a remarkable fact—That from such deaths in the country, not a single instance had been known of the infection being communicated.—On my way to Germantown yesterday, I spoke of this circumstance to a reputable man whom I knew, and who lives near Fair Hill: He confirmed it by many instances which he said had fallen under his own knowledge.—By this it would seem, that persons not previously contaminated by the impure air of the city, were not susceptible of the disease.

My ride to Germantown yesterday was on purpose to see the Attorney General: but he was not at home.

I am waiting for an answer from the Mayor to a letter I wrote him last evening requesting authentic information of the number of deaths, and of the present state of the disease.

I have sent my servant a second time for the Mayor's answer: but he does not return; and the closing of the mail being at hand, I must conclude now, and write again by the next post.

I am most respectfully
Sir,
Your obedient servant
Timothy Pickering

The President of the United States

The varying opinions the President had received left him as was often the case, to weigh the matter and decide it himself. The way not being clear, he did nothing and as each day brought news of a decrease in the fever, the matter daily lost its importance. By the 2d of December, which was the first Monday of the month, Philadelphia had returned to its usual daily life. The disease had disappeared, and Congress met at the usual place, with the average, for an opening session, of Senators and Representatives present.

CHAPTER VI

Randolph Arranges for the President's Comfort in Germantown

AMONG those who early left Philadelphia, even before the President had taken his departure, was Edmund Randolph, the Attorney General of the United States, with his family. As early as September 5th letters of Randolph are dated from Germantown. He had secured quarters with Nathan Spencer, whose house is still standing on Mill Street, or Church Lane, about one mile east of the Main Street, and at the northeast corner of Church Lane and Dunton Street. The house faces west at the crest of a gentle slope, with the barn and outbuildings clustered around it. In the meadow in front is the old spring house, and at the rear, still standing, but now used for other purposes, is the ancient brew-house. Nearby was the sundial, made in 1789, and now in the possession of the writer, a descendant of Nathan Spencer. The family were members of the Society of Friends. Nathan was a son of Joseph and Hannah Spencer, the latter a descendant of

Jan Luken, one of the original thirteen settlers of Germantown. Nathan's wife was Rachel Pim, from Chester county.* Their home, according to a family tradition, was occupied on another occasion by Oliver Wolcott, when later he was Secretary of the Treasury.

The correspondence of Washington with Edmund Randolph forms such a complete account of the arrangements which were made for the President's comfort in Germantown, that the letters are given in full, some of them being for the first time in print.

On September 30th Washington wrote to Randolph as follows:

Mount Vernon, 30 September, 1793.†

The continuation and spreading of the malignant fever, with which the city of Philadelphia is visited, together with the absence of the heads of departments therefrom, will prolong my abode at this place until about the 25th of October; at or about which time, I shall myself, if the then state of things should render it improper for me to take my family, set out for that city, or the vicinity, say Germantown.

*For a further account of the Spencers see Genealogical Sketch of the Descendants of Samuel Spencer, by Howard M. Jenkins, Philadelphia, 1904.

†Sparks' Writings of Washington.

I shall be obliged to you, therefore, if you remain at your post, which I by no means wish you to do at the hazard of taking the fever, to keep me advised of the existing state of things in that quarter, and, moreover, that you would be so obliging, if it should be thought unsafe for me to go into my own house in the city at the time above mentioned, as to inquire of a tolerably convenient lodging for myself, one gentleman of my family, with three servants, and as many horses, could be had in or near Germantown. To prevent any misunderstanding of my meaning, I declare explicitly, that it is *hired lodgings only* I will go into; for unless such can be had, I would repair to one of the most decent inns. I have given notice to the heads of departments of these my intentions, requesting their attendance accordingly, at the time and place mentioned.

Randolph answered this letter promptly, and wrote again ten days later, dating his letter "Spencer's, October 13th, 1793," giving an account of the ravages of the fever and the views of Doctors Rush and Shippen in regard to its nature. He also informs the President that in order to allay the anxieties of his family, he intended to remove them still further from Philadelphia. He proposed taking them to Lancaster, preferring it to Wilmington, which was so badly crowded that he could promise

himself no accommodation there. He further wrote the President that he would attempt to procure a messenger to go into Philadelphia for any letter which might be waiting for him there.

Mrs. Randolph seems to have been particularly apprehensive and urged that the family remove to Manchester, Va., but although Randolph was impressed with the propriety of such a step, he declined to go, deeming it his duty to remain in the vicinity of Philadelphia to represent the officers of the government and to receive any communication the President might wish to forward.

The following letter is full of interest as showing the efforts required of Randolph to secure suitable quarters for the President:

Spencer's October 22, 1793.*

Sir

On my return from Lancaster, I found, that Major Franks had agreed to let you have his house.† But the terms are excessive; being no less than 150 £ per annum, or for a shorter period, not under six months, at the same rate. Except a looking-glass or two, and a few pictures, he will not suffer any of the furniture

* Heretofore unpublished. From Archives Library of Congress.

† Now No. 5542 Main Street.

to remain; tho' I have prevailed upon his agent to ~~suffer~~ permit a couple of beds and some chairs and tables to continue, until you can accommodate yourself from some other quarter. But I have made no conclusive bargain; leaving this and the other house, which I mentioned in my last letter, and adjoins the school-house lot, free for your choice. Dr. Bensel declines renting his house.*

The best road from the main Baltimore road to German Town is from Darby to the *black-horse* at the seven mile stone, on the Lancaster road: from thence to Righter's ferry on Shuylkill, which is about two miles from German Town.

We are flattered with a report, that the cold weather has given a stroke to the fever; but the authority, upon which it is circulated, is not conclusive with me.

I have the honor to be, sir, with
the highest respect, and sincere attachment
yr. mo. ob. serv.
Edm: Randolph.

The following letter from Washington, written the day after Randolph's, and of course before the latter was received, gives further instructions in regard to the necessary lodgings:

* Dr. Charles Bensell lived at the corner of Main Street and School House Lane.

Mount Vernon, 23 October, 1793.*

Dear Sir:—

Your letter of the 14th instant only came by the post of last night to Alexandria; and this is sent thither to-day, that it may go by to-morrow's mail, and thereby reach you as soon as the nature of the case will admit.

As you have given no positive opinion respecting the power of the executive to change the place for Congress to meet at, and it is uncertain what will be the result of this business, I am really at a loss to decide which of the three houses mentioned in the postscript to your letter of the above date, would best suit me, or whether either of them would.

If, from the present state of the malady, with which Philadelphia is visited, and there is an unfavourble prospect of its ceasing, Germantown should be thought unsafe, and of course an ineligible spot for Congress to sit in or meet at, even in the first instance, any kind of lodging and board would suffice for the short period I should have to remain there; especially as all the time, not employed in business with the heads of departments and yourself, might be spent in little excursions to places at a small distance therefrom. Of course, all idea of furnishing and keeping a house myself, being entirely unprovided with servants and means of any sort, ought to be banished entirely, if it be practicable, and some rooms, even in

* From Sparks' Writings of Washington.

a tavern, if I could be retired in them, taken in preference. On the other hand, if my stay there is likely to be of any continuance, then unquestionably Colonel Franks's, if to be had, would suit me best, because more commodious for myself and the entertainment of company; and next to this, Bensel's.

This is the light in which the matter strikes me at this distance. But, as you are on the spot, and know more precisely than I possibly can the real state of things, and besides, have been in the way of hearing the various opinions of people on the subject of what Congress ought to do, I would leave much to your judgment. I shall set out, so as to be in Germantown or thereabouts on the 1st of November, if no difficulties should be encountered on the road. As there can be but a short interval between your receipt of this letter and my arrival, any place might do for my first reception.

It is not in my power to despatch a servant before me. I shall have but two, neither of whom can be spared for such a purpose. These, with five horses, Mr. Dandridge, and myself, form the total of my family and equipage. It would be very convenient for me, therefore, to meet a letter from you at Wilmington, that I may know better how to proceed from thence, and where to cross the Schuylkill.

My best wishes, in which Mrs. Washington unites, attend you, Mrs. Randolph, and family. We are glad to hear, that your apprehensions on account of Peyton have subsided. With sincere esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir, &c.

This letter seems to have come through very quickly, for Randolph received it on the morning of the 26th, and proceeded to answer it at once as follows:

Spencer's October 26, 1793.*

Sir

I had this moment the honor of receiving your letter of the 23d instant by a special messenger from Philadelphia. As he is impatient to return, and I mean to write a duplicate for Elkton, I will trouble you with but a short communication.

At Baltimore and Elkton two letters of different dates are waiting for your arrival; one written on the 23d, the other on the 25th instant. Since the writing of the last, Colo. Hamilton came hither; and I find, that he concurs in the opinion, which I have given to you in my letter of the 25th that the President cannot constitutionally convene congress to a different place *as yet.* But he informed me, that he had explained himself in a letter to you for Baltimore.

The disorder is supposed to be better in Philadelphia; but in the suburbs, both North and South, it rages with its ancient vehemence. I cannot therefore believe it possible, for the ensuing session to be held in that city. I shall go over to German Town this afternoon, and will make an arrangement for your temporary accommodation, adapted to the uncertainty of

* Heretofore unpublished. From Archives Library of Congress.

Horse Chestnut Tree

the position which congress may take, and leaving you still in possession of the right to choose between Franks's house, and the lodgings near the schoolhouse. Major Lenox, the new marshal, purposes to meet you at Wilmington; and by him I will transmit an account of what I have done. My letter at Elkton compares the different places, which have been named, and mentions a route to German-Town; which, however, Major Lenox thinks, that he can improve.

I have the honor, sir, to be, with the highest respect, and sincere attachment

yr. mo. ob. serv.

The President. Edm: Randolph.

Randolph having completed the arrangements for Washington's lodgings in Germantown, despatched the following letter by Major David Lenox, who was to meet the President at Wilmington, giving the final information and instructions as to the disposal of the party on their arrival:

Spencer's October 28, 1793.*

Sir

By the time, when this letter is delivered to you by Major Lenox, you will have received the different letters, which I forwarded to you at Baltimore and Elkton, stating, among other things, what I had done concerning your lodgings. Colo. Franks not being in

* Heretofore unpublished. From Archives Library of Congress.

town, and his agent not being willing to let the house for any period, short of six months, I could not combine the objects, which you have in view so effectually, as to conclude an arrangement with the German Clergyman * near the Schoolhouse. I wish the accommodation was complete; but it is certainly the best, which can be had. I have agreed for three rooms, and two beds for yourself and Mr. Dandridge, and breakfast and tea in the afternoon, at ten dollars each per week. I was afraid, that your servants would have been obliged to lodge three or four hundred yards from you; but this morning I engaged board for them on the lot, adjoining your rooms. Should you want another room, I am pretty well satisfied, ('tho I do not know it absolutely) that it may be procured. Your horses are to be at Mr. Feree's stable, about two hundred yards from the Schoolhouse. The only remaining difficulty is dinner; for the Clergyman cannot go so far, as this meal. A tavern-keeper was to see, if he could get a cook; in which case he would send a dinner to your lodgings. I shall settle with him to-morrow, and can give him the information, with which Major Lenox has furnished me, respecting such a servant.

I have the honor, sir, to be
with the highest respect and sincere attachment
yr. mo. ob. serv.
Edm. Randolph.

* Rev. Frederick Herman, whose home immediately joined the Academy on the west.

CHAPTER VII

Washington Reaches Germantown

WASHINGTON set out from Mount Vernon for Germantown on Monday, the 28th of October, accompanied by his secretary, Bartholomew Dandridge;* his coachman, Lewis Lut, and servant, Austin, with five horses. At Baltimore they were overtaken by Thomas Jefferson, who had left Monticello on the 25th. The latter was accompanied by one servant, James. Jefferson had journeyed by stage from Fredericksburg, having sent his horses back to Monticello from that point. The united party left Baltimore on the morning of the 30th, spent that night at Havre de Grace and the following at Brandywine (Wilmington). They breakfasted at Chester, and reached Germantown in time for dinner on Friday, November 1st. This was a cold, rainy day, and Jefferson says they experienced the extremes of heat, cold, dust and rain

*Son of Judge Bartholomew Dandridge and nephew of Mrs. Washington.

on the journey. He complained bitterly of the harpies who preyed upon travelers and of the expense of $77.65, to which he had been put for himself and one servant, from Fredericksburg to Germantown.

On their arrival, Washington and Dandridge went to the Reverend Frederick Herman's house, adjoining the Academy, on School House Lane. The coachman, Lewis, and servant, Austin, were quartered with John Merkle, who lived close by, and the horses were sent to Squire Ferree's stable, in the rear of his house, on the northeastern corner of Main Street and School House Lane, the site now occupied by the Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Germantown. As Randolph had arranged, Mr. Herman was to supply lodgings and suppers and breakfasts, while the dinners were to be provided by William Bockius, the landlord of the King of Prussia Tavern, now Nos. 5516, 5518 and 5520 Main Street. James Garmain was the President's *chef*.

Frederick Herman was the German teacher at the Academy and also the pastor of the Reformed Church at the Market Square, his incumbency covering the period from 1790-5. He was apparently a young man and his house-

hold at this time included several small children. One son, born early in the following summer, was named in honor of the Attorney General, Edmund Randolph Herman.

The house then occupied by Frederick Herman had been erected in 1763 by David James Dove, an educator of marked individuality, who had been engaged as the English master in 1761, by the Trustees of the Academy, or the Union School, as it was called, then but newly opened. He later quarreled with the trustees and purchased a tract of over two acres on the west of the school property from Samuel Ashmead, and erected a building intended as a rival of the Academy. His plan was not successful, and in 1768 he sold the property and removed to Philadelphia. The house was described in an advertisement of the time as being commodious and elegant. There was a "beautiful garden and fruitful orchard, containing in the whole two acres and a quarter. The serene and wholesome air of this place, the charming and extensive prospect it affords on every side, may justly entitle it to the name of the Montpelier of America, and is exactly calculated for the seat of any gentleman of taste." Such was

Washington's home from November 1st to November 10th.

The house is now numbered 130 West School House Lane, the home for a number of years of Mr. John Alburger. The walls are of great thickness, and in making alterations, some years ago, it was found that the stones would break before the mortar which bound them together. Except for some changes in the front and the addition of porches, the size and shape of the house are very much as they were then. The old Pennsylvania marble front steps are still in use, and the floor of the ancient stoop has been included in the modern porch. In the rear yard, near the School yard line, is a beautiful horse chestnut tree of great size and splendid proportions, which tradition has persistently said was planted by Washington. The stable, while ancient, is of more modern origin, for, as the reader has been informed, there were no accommodations for Washington's horses.

Meanwhile Jefferson had gone to the King of Prussia Tavern, a leading inn of the time in Germantown, which he found still crowded with Philadelphians, afraid to return to their city homes. The tavern had been opened as a

house of entertainment by Andrew Weckeser in 1757, and for a number of years it had been the Germantown terminus of the tri-weekly stage from Philadelphia. The old sign, which is still preserved, had displayed on it, seated on horseback, the then popular King Frederick, a representation said to have been painted by Gilbert Stuart while the latter was a resident of Germantown. The picture was painted over, and in more modern times, until it was taken down, it bore simply the words "King of Prussia." Here the Secretary of State of the United States was able to get a bed in the corner of the public room, and that "as a great favor," he says. The other alternative was to sleep on the floor before the fire, wrapped in his cloak. "In this state I am waiting," he writes his son-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph, "till some of the Philadelphians may take courage to go into the city and make a vacancy here."

He says in a letter to his friend, James Madison, written the day after his arrival, that Germantown could not lodge a single person more, and that "cuddies" without a bed, and sometimes without a chair or table, rented from four to six to eight dollars per week.

Alexander Hamilton was at Fair Hill, two and a half miles from the city and a little greater distance from Germantown, but he was indisposed at the time of the President's arrival and unable to wait upon him. He sent a note of explanation for his absence on the 3d of November, and in it answered more fully Washington's inquiry for his views as to the meeting place of Congress. Randolph remained at Spencer's, a mile to the east of Germantown, and General Knox probably retained his quarters at the Rev. William Smith's house near the Falls of Schuylkill. On November 8th Hamilton and Knox dined with Jefferson at the King of Prussia.

The subject still uppermost in the minds of the President and his cabinet, of the state and local authorities, and interested citizens, was, where shall Congress meet? The Academy building had all along been considered the only place available in Germantown, in case Congress should assemble here. On October 26th, 1793, the Trustees had considered a proposal from the Governor of Pennsylvania that the buildings be occupied by the legislature of the State, but at the same meeting the information

was received that Congress might need the school. A committee was appointed, consisting of Henry Hill, President of the board; John Bringhurst, Samuel Mechlin, Melchoir Meng and Joseph Ferree, to provide other accommodations for the school, that the way might be clear for the public use of the property. On November 2d the Trustees again convened, and adopted a resolution to the effect that if necessary for the accommodation of the Congress of the United States, or of the State legislature, they do first make the President of the United States an offer of the school buildings, on the following terms: "First, the following repairs are wanting, to wit: 104 panes of glass, two window shutters, two door linings, three door locks, the steps front and back of new wood, the hearths to be laid of new brick, sundry patchings and whitewashing, for which repairs, and no others, the sum of sixty dollars will be allowed out of the rent, which is to be three hundred dollars for one session, by either of the legislatures, if by them occupied for the public use, and that the said committee shall procure another suitable building to accommodate the school during said time." Henry Hill, Samuel

Ashmead, Christopher Schneider, Samuel Mechlin and Joseph Ferree were appointed a committee to carry this resolution into effect. On November 6th the committee waited on the President, and through the chairman, Henry Hill, formally tendered the school buildings for the use of Congress, handing him at the same time the following letter:

The President of the United States.

November 6, 1793.*

Sir,

The Trustees of the public school of Germantown have the honor to wait upon the President, with a respectful tender of the school buildings for the accommodation of Congress, should they convene at this place.—

To judge of the other Inhabitants of Germantown from our own motives, it cannot be questioned they would on this occasion strive to make it as convenient as convenient [sic] a residence as possible.—On the permanence of our general Government, & the safety of its supporters & defenders, rests, under God in our view, whatever we hold most valuable.

It has been our fortune, Sir, to see you in many seasons of difficulty & danger, always surmounting them; & even now fortifying with your presence,

* From Archives Library of Congress. Heretofore unpublished.

the good spirit of the Union, lately humbled by the calamity in Philadelphia; an alleviation of which we participate, doubtless in common with the survivors of the City, in consequence of your propitious return to this State.

Henry Hill Christr. Schneider
Saml. Ashmead Saml. Mechlin.
Jos: Ferree Trustees.

To this letter the following formal reply was prepared and forwarded. The first two paragraphs were prepared by Jefferson, and the President added the more personal closing paragraph:

To, The Trustees of the Public School of Germantown.*
Gentlemen,

The readiness with which the Trustees of the Public School of Germantown tender the buildings under their charge, for the use of Congress, is a proof of their zeal for furthering the public good; and doubtless the Inhabitants of Germantown generally, actuated by the same motives, will feel the same dispositions to accommodate, if necessary, those who assemble but for their service & that of their fellow citizens.

Where it will be best for Congress to remain will depend on circumstances which are daily unfolding

* From Archives Library of Congress. Heretofore unpublished.

themselves, & for the issue of which we can but offer up our prayers to the Sovereign Dispenser of life & health. His favor too on our endeavours—the good sense and firmness of our fellow citizens, & fidelity in those they employ, will secure to us a permanence of good government.

If I have been fortunate enough, during the vicissitudes of my life, so to have conducted myself, as to have merited your approbation, it is a source of much pleasure; & should my future conduct merit a continuance of your good opinion, especially at a time when our country, & the city of Philadelphia in particular, is visited by so severe a calamity, it will add more than a little to my happiness.—

Go. Washington.

By the 9th of November the fever in the city had almost disappeared, and affairs were resuming their natural course. "The citizens flocked back to town as fast as they had before left it," says Charles Biddle in his autobiography. "People who had little or no acquaintance with each other before they left the city, appeared rejoiced at seeing each other. The loss was soon forgotten in the joy of getting back to the city."

The following letter from Jefferson to Madison, heretofore unpublished, gives an interesting glimpse of the then situation:

Germantown, Nov. 9, '3.*

The stages from Philadelphia to Baltimore are to be resumed to-morrow. the fever has almost disappeared. the Physicians say they have no new subjects since the rain. some old ones are still to recover or die, & it is presumed that will close the tragedy. the inhabitants, refugees, are now flocking back generally; this will give us accommodation here. the Pres. sets out to-morrow for Reading, & perhaps Lancaster to return in a week. he will probably remain here till the meeting of Congress, should Philadelphia become ever so safe, as the members may not be satisfied of that point till they have time to inform themselves. Toulon has surrendered to Engld. & Spain. Grandanse in St. Domingo to England. the British have received a check before Dunkirk, probably a great one, but the particulars cannot yet be depended on. it happened about the 5th of September. when Monroe & yourself arrive here, come to Bockeas's tavern (sign the K. of Prussia) I will have engaged beds there for you for your temporary accommodation. Adieu.

As intimated in Jefferson's letter, the President, accompanied by Mr. Dandridge and his servants, set out on the 11th of November for Lancaster and Reading, going first into Philadelphia. He apparently was not satisfied that

* From Archives Library of Congress.

Congress could be accommodated satisfactorily in Germantown, or at least wished to see for himself what the other Pennsylvania towns had to offer, in case the members declined to meet in Philadelphia. His ride into the city was, in spite of the earnest remonstrance of Edmund Randolph, contained in a letter dated from Spencer's, November 10th:

After I parted from you last night, I obtained a promise from Mr. Dunlap, the printer, to bring out on Monday his file of newspapers. This renders it unnecessary for me to continue my request as to yours. But while I am thus led to recollect, that you meditate a visit to the city to morrow, permit me to suggest one consideration. The mayor and the physicians dissuade people from returning yet, and especially in great numbers. You will hardly be at your door, before your arrival will be rumored abroad; and multitudes, who will not distinguish between a momentary stay, and absolute residence, will be induced by your example to crowd back, and carry fresh, and therefore more vulnerable subjects into the bosom of infection. The consequences may be the more serious, as we have not yet learned, that any radical precautions have yet commenced, for purging the houses and furniture. It is strengthened too in a degree, from the uncertainty of the malady, under which the soldiers from St. Domingo labour, and of the effect, which the late warm

days may have had upon the disorder. Nor can I conceal a fear, which I have often heard expressed by the friends of yourself and the government, that your indifference about danger might push you too early into Philadelphia.

Of the details of Washington's trip but little information is obtainable. He lodged Wednesday, November 13th, at Womelsdorf, Berks County, fourteen miles west of Reading, where the following address was presented to him in German:

Your Excellency:

Will you accept at this happy moment, our expression of joy and gratitude at the honor of having the presence of your excellency among us.

The great and glorious results which crowned your work under the protection of the Almighty in the last glorious war, the happiness and peace which we enjoy under your government, and the recent well planned, properly applied system of neutrality encourage all people to renewed love and respect toward you.

The inhabitants of this region will never cease to pray that God grant you health and long life.

To which Washington sent the following reply:

The attention and approbation that you show of my endeavors, give me the greatest pleasure.

A company of volunteers assembled, and amidst repeated firing of guns near the door of the house in which he lodged, exclaimed, "Lang lebe George Washington! Lang lebe George Washington!"

On the 14th of November he was at Lancaster, but no further record of the tour seems allowable.

Washington's expense for the trip, which he sets down in his cash book as to "Lebanon and Lancaster," was $29.19.

Washington returned to Germantown on Saturday, the 16th, having been gone all the week. He did not, however, return to the Rev. Herman's house.* Before leaving he had written a personal note to Colonel Isaac Franks, asking for the use of his house, and this message had been enclosed in a letter and forwarded by Thomas Dungan, the principal of the Academy, urging that the request be granted. It reached Colonel Franks, who had sought refuge from the yellow fever at Bethlehem, Pa., on November 6th, and he immediately responded

* Washington's bill at the Reverend Herman's had been discharged by the payment of $37.94, which included the ten days' board and lodging for himself and Mr. Dandridge, candles, etc. John Merkel's bill for boarding the two men amounted to $15.82.

A.W. Elson & Co. Boston

The Morris House, Germantown

Home of Washington during portions of 1793 and 1794

by hiring a light two-horse wagon, with a driver, and setting out for Germantown with Mrs. Franks, to put the house in order for the President's occupancy.* Colonel Franks' house is now No. 5442 Main Street.

This house was built in 1772–3 by David Deshler, and had been, in 1777, after the Battle of Germantown, the headquarters of Sir William Howe. A description of the property from a contemporary advertisement gives a pleasant picture of its location and surroundings:

> A house and Lot, situate on the west side of the main street in Germantown, an airy, high situation, commanding an agreeable prospect of the adjacent country. The house is 45 feet front, and forty feet deep, two stories high, four rooms on the floor, all furnished in the most elegant manner; there are also suitable back buildings, all in good order, and a pump of excellent water in the yard. The lot contains about two acres, on which is an orchard of the best grafted fruit of various kinds, and a large garden pailed in.

Colonel Franks seems to have been a careful business man, for he took and preserved an in-

*Among Washington's expenses at this time was an item of $15.67 to William Bringhurst for going "express" at the request of Attorney General Edmund Randolph, from Germantown to Col. Franks, then safely quartered at Bethlehem.

ventory of the furniture in the house at the time.* As the list discloses the furnishing of a better house of the period, it is of interest:

First Right Hand Room

Curtains, 2 Blinds, two winder blinds, Do. Do. curtains, one looking glass, six chairs with chintz bottoms, one looking glass, 1 Dining table, one breakfast table, one open stove, one pair of plated candlesticks, Double set of Nankin China 72 picees, 1 large waiter, 1 large waiter, 1 snuff tray, 1 pair hand irons, shovel and tongs, 1 plated Goblet pint cup with two handles, 2 large pictures.

First left Hand Room

2 chintz window curtains, 1 Green Blinds, 1 Looking glass, 2 Gerandoles, 1 Dining table, 2 Mahogany Arm Chairs, 8 Mahogany stuffed Bottom chairs, 1 pair large Hand Irons, shovel and tongs, 2 Gerandoles, 4 pictures, 1 pair plated candlesticks, 1 set mantel china,—82 Rails, 15 Posts.

In the back room adjoining

One C. Table, 4 window chairs, 2 small pictures, China in the closet, 9 china plates, 2 plated sauce boats and china chocolate pot, 1 plated castor, 1 large China Tureen, 1 china punch bowl, 1 china sugar dish, 1 pair of hand irons, shovel and tongs—brass.

*This information was taken from a copy of the original paper. The whereabouts of the original are unknown to the writer. The copy is in the possession of Ellis-ton P. Morris, of Germantown.

In the First Kitchen

1 English guttered gridiron, 3 flat brass candle sticks, 1 spit, 1 flesh fork, 1 egg slice, 1 cullender, 3 iron ladles, 1 iron ladle and dredging box, 2 funnels, 2 graters, 1 pair of Snuffers, 1 qt Tankard, 1 pint mug, 9 flat irons and stand, 1 cheese Toaster, 1 iron fork large, 3 patty pans.

Up Stairs, in the bed chamber on the right hand

One bed stead and curtains, one bed bolster and pillows, 2 blankets, a green rug and a white counterpane, 1 looking glass, 1 Bureau, and cover, 1 pair hand irons, shovel and tongs, one carpet and fine side carpet.

In Bed room opposite

One Bed stead, 2 Beds, 1 Bolster and pillows, one pair sheets, one pair pillow sheets, 6 blankets, one chintz bed stead, 1 looking glass, 1 Table, 1 Arm chair, 4 *chairs with covers, 1 carpet,* 1 mahogany chest and drawers. 1 Table, 1 chair, and 2 benches and one Tamil, a corner cupboard, one picture, one coffee mill, 1 black pitcher, 3 coffee pots, 1 tin, 1 china, 1 large copper, 4 Decanters, 9 Elegant Wine glasses, 6 cups and saucers, 1 milk pot, 1 mustard pot, 1 slop bowl, 1 Tin Kettle with cover, 32 plates, 4 large dishes, 2 gravy Tureens, 1 salt box, 1 salad dish.

In Back Kitchen adjoining

1 Tamil, 1 Table, 3 chafing dishes, 1 lantern, 2 frying pans, 4 Iron pots and one iron cover, 2 chairs,

3 pails, 1 Table and ironing board, 2 Tea Kettles, 4 candlesticks, 2 copper Kettles, 1 Tin Mug, 1 pepper mill, 2 pair of irons, 2 pair of pot hooks, 1 sand sieve, 1 rolling pin, 1 pair of bellows, 2 pair of pot hooks, 1 large copper sauce pan, 1 quart black mug, 1 bench, 1 brass washing kettle, 3 washing tubs.

In Back Room

2 chairs, 1 writing desk &c, and Table.

In Stable

2½ tons of hay, 1 cart, 1 open stove, 1 six plate stove, 27 fowls, 20 ducks, one Iron fender.

Colonel Franks' account rendered for the use of the house included his expenses to and from Bethlehem for two trips, one to set the house in order and the other, on the 19th of December, to ascertain how much longer the President, who had already gone, intended to remain. These journeys cost $40.00. There was also a charge of $12.00 for bedding and furniture, which Franks was obliged to hire on account of his own being in use by the President. It cost $2.50 "For cleaning my house and putting it in the same condition the President received it in," which seems very little when it is remembered it was a bachelor establishment, with many callers and guests during

the short period of its occupancy. The breakage by the tenant is figured in shillings and pence and is as follows:

	£	s
For the damage done to a large Japanned waiter made use of in the service of the President	o	6
One large fork a 2/6	"	2.6
4 plates 1	"	4.
To 3 ducks 2/6	"	7.6
4 Fowls 1/9	"	7.
1 bushel potatoes	"	4
One hundred of hay	"	6
	£1.	12.10

which, reduced, equaled $4.40. All these charges, added to the rent of $66.66, made a total of $131.56. It seems, however, that Washington, whose care in accounts could not be exceeded by that of Colonel Franks, was not satisfied with all the charges, for the bill was not settled for nearly four months after the President's return to the city, and then by a total payment of but $75.56.

The Franks House, or the Morris House, as it is known to-day, remains as it was when Washington occupied it, as interesting and as fine an example of the architecture of the Colonial

period as is to be found anywhere in America. It has been the home for many years of Elliston P. Morris, and of his father, Samuel B. Morris, before him.

Washington occupied it until the end of the month, making, however, frequent daily visits into the city, and so well did it suit him that he again occupied it the following summer, as will be set forth in a later chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

The Attorney General's Formal Opinion

AS Randolph had promised in his letter to the President, of October 24th, his formal opinion as to the legality and expediency of calling Congress together elsewhere than at Philadelphia was ready for consideration shortly after the President's arrival in Germantown. As it is the official opinion of the Attorney General of the United States and as it contains a statement of the comparative ability of a number of Pennsylvania towns to accommodate Congress, and as it was prepared in Germantown it is judged of sufficient interest to be included in full. It is preserved in the Archives of the Library of Congress, and so far as known has never been published.

RANDOLPH'S OPINION ON TEMPORARY SEAT OF GOVERNMENT

The attorney general of the United States has the honor of submitting to the President of the United States the following considerations

on the power and propriety of convening congress to a place, different from the city of Philadelphia.

The constitution declares, that "neither house, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more, than three days, nor to any other place, than that, in which the two houses shall be sitting."

The residence-act directs* that the session of congress next ensuing the present (that is the session in July 1790) shall be held in the city of Philadelphia; and the adjourning order of both houses, at the close of every session, since they began to sit in Philadelphia, has made no mention whatever of *place*.

Hence it is correct to infer, not only that Philadelphia was the place, intended by congress for their next session; but also, that the constitution and residence-act have rendered that city, at least until the year 1800, the constant place of session; unless it be changed in some constitutional way.

*This act provided that Philadelphia should be the temporary seat of government until the year 1800, when it should be removed to the new Federal City, *i. e.*, Washington, D. C.

How can such a change be effected?

By a new law, a concurred vote of both houses, even without the intervention of the President, or by a summons from the President.

The past conduct of the legislature shows their opinion of their own power, to fix a temporary place for the session of congress. If it were now a question, whether by a new law the *permanent* seat of government might be altered, much could be urged in opposition upon constitutional grounds. But the temporary seat stands upon a less solemn basis.

Had the constitution been silent as to the place for the sessions of congress, they would have possessed inherently a right to assemble, wheresoever they pleased. But it is more than silent: it recognizes that right; and restricts it in no respect, until the permanent seat shall be established. For the temporary is not contemplated by the constitution—it makes no part of the ten miles square—it requires no cession from particular states—it is liable to no exclusive legislation. It is true indeed, that the temporary seat was said out of doors, at the time of the passing of the residence-act, to be a condition of the permanent: that is, Pennsyl-

vania was to enjoy the benefit of congress until the year 1800, as preliminary to the final position on Potomack. Be this as it may, the judgment must turn upon the rules of construction. These inform us no where of this supposed condition: in 1800, the government is to be transferred to the federal city, without regard to any place, *from* which it is to go; and after 1800, the public offices attached to the seat of government, will absolutely cease to be exercised elsewhere.

It may therefore be concluded, that by a new *law*, congress may choose a new spot for the temporary seat of government.

Nor does the residence-act abridge the power of the two houses to adjourn to a different place, even without the consent of the President; or in other words, they may so adjourn by a mere vote, instead of a formal law. For, altho' it is thereby established, that the offices, attached to the seat of government, among which is comprehended that of President, are to remain at Philadelphia; it is practicable for congress, notwithstanding the inconvenience, to carry on their business, without the presence of those offices, with all their papers, or more

than are necessary for the matters immediately in hand.

In like manner may the place be varied, whensoever an extraordinary occasion shall arise, which justifies the President to convene congress. It must be admitted, that he will generally find the last place of session most proper for their meeting on his call: yet if the last place must be adhered to at all events, the power of convening may be often annihilated in substance. For example: the extraordinary occasion may consist in a foreign invasion; and the last place of session may be in the hands of an enemy. In such a case, the President may surely mark out both time and place. If therefore an extraordinary occasion may sometimes signify place, as well as time, the President, being the judge of the nature of that occasion, may name the place, according to his discretion, as soon as he has decided the time.

Between the act of the two houses, and his own interposition, the President will be compelled to elect; should the misfortune of Philadelphia continue to oppress it; and indeed it ought rather to be said, that this is the moment for determining, whether he will leave the place

for the next session to the will of congress in the first instance, or will now convene them to a place of his own choice.

The objections appear so strong against the latter expedient, as to give a clear preference to the former. What are extraordinary occasions, are left to the decision of the President; who may pronounce definitely and without controul upon them. No individual, nor either body of legislation can refuse to comply with the summons. This power therefore, like all others of a supreme nature, ought to be exercised with caution.

It would be impossible to enumerate every species of extraordinary occasion. The most obvious definition would be such a situation of public affairs, as requires the meeting of congress at an earlier day, than that, on which they would meet of course. For if they were bound by their own adjournment, or by the operation of the constitution, or some law, to meet sooner than, or as soon as, they could assemble under a call from the President, it would be in general inexpedient to superadd a call.

With this criterion of an extraordinary occasion, it may be asked, whether any exists in-

dependent of the contagion? It cannot but be answered, that none such does exist. The contagion then may be viewed under two aspects; either as a cause for calling congress, or as a cause for changing the place of session. It might perhaps amount to a cause for calling congress, if we were to advert, only to the expence of double public offices—the danger of keeping the public archives in so exposed a city, and a well grounded reluctance in the President to be responsible for ordering them to another place, not designated by, but contrary to law—the difficulty to public creditors in procuring payments from the treasury—the propriety of legalizing many acts concerning the revenue performed at the custom-houses, removed, as they are, from the port of Philadelphia—the interruption to the sessions of the district courts, confined as they are by law to Philadelphia; and to other topics, like these. But the entire energy of them is taken away, when it is notorious, that congress will come together, in pursuance of their own adjournment sooner than the President could collect them.

Undoubtedly the contagion may be a cause for changing the place of session. But how

wide is this idea from a cause for calling congress? It would approach to an absurdity to contend, that the malignant fever in Philadelphia by being a reason for congress, (if they are to meet) meeting at some other place, is of itself a reason, why they should meet. In fact, the extraordinary occasion must arise, before the place can be thought of; for the power of fixing the place is not given to the President *expressly*, but merely as an incident to the great necessity, which induces the President to convene congress. And this distraction deserves the more attention; as the constitution, while it suffers him to interpose on a disagreement of the two houses as to time, has not submitted to his umpirage their disagreement as to place.

And what harm can be done, by having things in their usual channel? Perhaps by the first monday in december next, Philadelphia may be restored to health, and freed from infection. It is possible, that on the appointed day a quorum of both houses may enter its limits, and adjourn to some other spot, or be content to remain. If none of these events should happen during the first day, then an extraordinary occasion will be created. For the leg-

islative concerns of the U. S. will not admit delay; and it will be fairly presumable, that there will be no certainty of a session before a distant day. A proclamation for convening congress may therefore issue immediately afterwards.

Upon the whole, It seems adviseable for the President not to convene congress *now*. This opinion may be fortified by other subordinate considerations:—the exercise of a doubtful power excites clamor—some members nay a majority may prefer Philadelphia under all its embarrassments—it may be conceived to be an unnecessary cruelty to that depressed city, *as yet*, to transfer congress elsewhere.

If at length, however, a place must be selected by the President, he will probably ask himself, whether he means it for a previous consultation of the members, or for the absolute sitting of congress. For the former purpose German Town is sufficiently convenient. But it will not escape the President's observation, that this exercise of authority will be so feeble, as to betray a supicion, that he himself distrusts his right to fix the place, and therefore consigns it to congress. Besides it may be easily con-

ceived, that the representations from the different states will be very disproportionate at the commencement of the session; and it will be fortunate if any accidental majority should be deprived of the opportunity of rivetting an improper place of session. Nay farther: if one place is countenanced for a moment by the President, it will prevent every other place from making preparations; and then congress must go to some large town, New York or Baltimore, where they can be received at the shortest notice.

But if instead of a place for previous consultation, the President should seek one adapted to the full session, and Philadelphia be excluded, New-York, Trenton, Wilmington, Baltimore, Annapolis, German-Town, Reading, and Lancaster come into competition.

A general objection applies to the first five. They are out of Pennsylvania, which is entitled by law, as the law now stands, and by equity too, to the temporary residence. If this once passes into another state, its return will be very difficult; or if it should return, a precedent will be established, which will press at a future day, with great force on the removal to the federal

Garden of the Morris House

Garden of the Morris House

city. It will be argued, that the residence-act had no other sanction, than an ordinary law, since it could be so easily dispensed with for the sake of a seeming public utility.

But against those five towns, individually taken, these things may be excepted. New-York will awaken old jealousies, and may not be without her hauteur.—Trenton is a thoroughfare; considerably exposed to infection, if it exists in Philadelphia; and from its past pretensions to the seat of government in its neighbourhood may also agitate the minds of some. If Wilmington is equal to congress it is also a thoroughfare. Baltimore and Annapolis would be to the Pennsylvanians, as odious, as New-York would be to the friends of Potomack.

As to the towns in Pennsylvania, Lancaster is first in rank. It is able and willing to accommodate. Reading, as Judge Rush asserts, cannot undertake such a task—German Town, in spite of all that may be said, cannot accommodate congress satisfactorily. The timid will shrink from the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, they may with reason apprehend the return of the fever in the Spring; and with certainty they may expect old beds and furniture from Phila-

delphia, which remained in many infected houses. The fare and rooms will be wretched; the distance, which the members will have to travel thro' unpaved streets in a muddy season, will be dreadful; the high prices, which will be demanded by the people for putting themselves out of the way, will disgust, when the entertainment is so indifferent; the foreign ministers will be crowded into dirty hovels*; and a place of worship in the English language is scarcely to be found. These disadvantages cannot be counterbalanced by access to the public offices; as the papers, wanting for Congress from them, may be put in a compass not very bulky. Altho' the foregoing sentiments are designed to dissuade the President, if he interferes at all, from interfering in an indecisive manner; yet as the sense of several members as to the place will be known, it will no doubt be treated with due respect.

* Randolph's preference for Lancaster may have been influenced by the fact that his family was there, and certainly his references to Germantown are misleading to a degree. That the ten or a dozen good country inns, and the twenty or thirty country homes of the type of our Morris, Wister, Johnson, and Chew mansions should be referred to as "dirty hovels" shows a lamentable lack of observation and fairness of statement.

However it will be a very questionable policy for the President to recommend to them, even informally, anything preliminary; because in his intercourse with public men on public subjects, he ought to be seen only as a public man himself; and because the steps, which the exigency of the moment may dictate, will be so obvious to the members, that an intimation from him will be deemed useless, if not intrusive.

If anything is permitted to be said, as from the President, by individuals to their friends, ought it to go farther than this: that if from the appearance of things on the second day it shall be proper to convene congress by a special act, he will do so, and at a different place. This communication may serve to bring the members into the neighbourhood.

Edm: Randolph
Novr. 2, 1793.

CHAPTER IX

Germantown Cabinet Meetings

THE first four years of Washington's administration were devoted in large measure to the consideration of domestic affairs, but he had hardly begun his second term before the thoughts of the people and almost the whole labor of the executive aim of the government were directed to the foreign affairs of the country. But attention to all these pressing subjects had been suddenly checked, and the functions of the national government practically suspended for the six weeks covering the absence of the heads of the various departments from Philadelphia, from the middle of September to the 1st of November.

The gathering of the loose ends of business, sundered by the hiatus of the yellow fever, and the preparation of the President's speech and message, before the assembling of Congress the first Monday in December, made the month of November, passed in Germantown, as busy and as important as any in Washington's administration.

To understand fully the questions considered by the cabinet while in Germantown, it will be necessary to give briefly an account of the foreign and domestic relations which early in Washington's second administration agitated the country, and perplexed the President and his advisers.

Early in April, 1793, word had reached America that France had declared war against Great Britain, and on the 22d of that month Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality, despite the fact that almost unanimously the people of this country felt a deep and active sympathy for France, and were desirous that we should return the good offices which that nation had shown us in our struggle for independence.

On April 8th Edmond C. Genet, or "Citizen" Genet, as the new democratic nomenclature of France designated him, arrived in Charleston, as the envoy and minister of that country. He immediately took active steps to aid his countrymen, arming and fitting out vessels of war, commissioning privateers, setting up a prize court, and committing other acts which placed this government in an embarrassing

position. This embarrassment was further increased by Genet's indiscretions in speech and action after he had reached Philadelphia and delivered his credentials.

Every effort was made by Washington and Jefferson to maintain the traditional friendly attitude towards France, but the capture near our shores of English vessels by those of France, the fitting out of privateers in our ports, the seizure of a French ship, then in custody of a United States marshal in Boston harbor, by the French consul of that port, backed by an armed forced; the threat of Genet that he would appeal from Washington to Congress and later from Congress to the people, and other equally offensive acts made it very difficult for the government to continue its relations with the French minister as such. Genet's conduct at length became so unbearable that on August 23d, 1793, a request for his recall was forwarded to the American Minister at Paris to be presented to the French government.

With England there were a number of matters for consideration. The non-execution of the articles of the treaty of peace relating to the evacuation of the forts along the frontier;

the constant complaints of Mr. Hammond, the British minister, of the capture of British ships by French vessels fitted out in our ports or captured in neutral waters; an abortive attempt to make a treaty with the Indians of the Northwest, said to have been defeated by the intrigues of the Canadian government, all came in for their share of heated discussion by the people and the press, and anxious thought from the President and his cabinet. Still another cause for resentment against Great Britain, was the order of the British council June 8th, 1793, for the stoppage of all neutral ships laden with corn or flour for France, and their despatch to English ports, there to be sold.

In the Southwest, Spain was secretly, yes, almost openly, aiding and advising the Creeks, and other Indian tribes, who were committing outrages against the settlers of Georgia, and her course at length became so insufferable that a communication was forwarded to Madrid by a special messenger, containing sentiments which Jefferson considered a last effort for the preservation of an honorable peace.

In the early days, during Washington's and Adams' administrations, it was customary for

the President to appear in person at the opening of Congress before both houses, assembled in one body, and read an address to them, designated as the speech, and later the matters to be more specifically communicated were forwarded as messages. Washington's draft of the various subjects which should be included either in the speech or in later messages to Congress is here given:

SUNDRY MATTERS TO BE COMMUNICATED FOR THE INFORMATION OF CONGRESS, EITHER IN THE SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE SESSION, OR BY MESSAGES THEREAFTER, AS SHALL BE THOUGHT BEST.*

November, 1793.

Proclamation informing the United States of the actual state of things as they stood between them and the powers at war.

State of our application respecting the surrender of the Western posts.

Additional instructions of his Britannic Majesty relative to corn, &c. in neutral vessels.

State of matters as it respects our negotiations with Spain—relative to territory and the navigation of the river Mississippi.

* From Sparks' Writings of Washington.

Correspondence with Mr. Genet, minister from the French republic.

The impediments which have taken place in the intended ransom of our citizens, captives in Algiers, and treaty with the Barbary States.

Treaty attempted with the Western Indians, and the result of it.

March of the army in consequence of it delayed by the suspension we were held in thereby.

State of matters as they relate to the Creeks and Cherokees; and to the frontiers of Georgia and the South-Western Territory.

Would not a trade on public ground with all the bordering tribes of Indians (if they can once be made sensible of their folly by the superiority of our arms) be an effectual mean of attaching them to us by the strongest of all ties, interest?

The utility of establishing proper arsenals, unfolds itself more and more every day; and the propriety of a military academy for teaching the art of gunnery and engineering, can scarcely be doubted. A war at any time would evince the impropriety of such a neglect.

Might it not be expedient to take off the tax upon the transportation of newspapers, &c.?

An act of the legislature, south-west of the Ohio, passed November 20th, 1792, deposited in the Secretary of State's office.

As both Representatives and President are newly chosen, and it is their first meeting, may it not be a

good occasion, and proper for the latter to express his sentiments of the honor conferred on him by his fellow citizens? The former is an augmented body. The times are critical; and much temper, and cool, deliberate reflection is necessary to maintain peace with dignity and safety to the United States.

Appointments during the recess of Congress to be laid before the Senate.

On the 8th of November an important cabinet meeting was held at the President's temporary home in Germantown* at which were present all the Secretaries, Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox, and Attorney General Randolph.

Thomas Jefferson in his "Anas," the famous confidential memoranda and remembrancer which he made during portions of his public career, the publication of which has been severely criticized by Jefferson's enemies, has left us full accounts of these cabinet conferences. At this particular meeting, on the 8th, several letters were read from Citizen Genet. On finishing one of them, Jefferson asked what the answer should be, to which Washington observed that Mr. Genet's conduct continued to be of so extraordinary a character that he wished

*At this time Washington was occupying the residence of the Rev. Frederick Herman.

to propose to the cabinet whether Genet should not be ordered home. He dwelt lengthily on the subject, discussing Genet's efforts to stir up the people against the executive, the people, the state government and Congress.

Washington showed that he felt the venom of Genet's attacks on him personally, but declared that they should be considered in no other light except that they effected the honor of the country. Both Hamilton and Knox spoke in favor of immediately dismissing Genet. Randolph opposed it firmly and lengthily, after which the President spoke at length, concluding by saying that he did not wish the matter decided hastily, but that the cabinet should give it further consideration. Jefferson himself was opposed to the dismissal of Genet.

At this meeting of the cabinet an important circular letter to the representatives of France, Great Britain, Spain and the United Netherlands, fixing the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States into the ocean at a sea league, was approved and agreed to by all, and letters of this date were dispatched to the representatives of those powers in this country. This was the first statement of the position of

this country on the question, and the pronouncement has stood from that time to this. Jefferson, in his letters to the foreign ministers, reserved the right to reopen the subject, and if found desirable, arrange some other distance from the shore. In later years there was some talk of attempting to extend our jurisdiction to the Gulf Stream, which seemed to make a natural marine boundry for our eastern waters, but this was never seriously urged, and the control of a league, or three geographical miles, from the shore at low tide stands to-day as a principle of international law. As this important decision of the government was finally decided upon in Germantown, and the letters to the foreign ministers, informing them of the fact,* were sent from here, and as the instructions to the various district attorneys, containing interesting information on the subject of the marine belt, are not included in the latest collection of Jefferson's writings, the latter document is given here in full:

*The letter to Hammond, the British minister, is given in full in Ford's Writings of Jefferson, Vol. VI. The draft of the letter is endorsed as follows: "These two drafts were shown to the Atty. General, and approved without alterations. The fair copies were shown to Colo. Hamilton and General Knox before dinner at Bockius' [The King of Prussia] Inn, Germantown and approved."

Germantown, Nov. 11, 1793.*

Sir

The war at present prevailing among the European Powers producing sometimes captures of vessels in the neighbourhood of our sea coast and the law of nations admitting as a common convenience that every nation inhabiting the sea coast may extend its jurisdiction & protection some distance into the sea, the President has been frequently appealed to by the subjects of the belligerent Powers for the benefit of that protection. To what distance from the coast this may be extended is not precisely ascertained either by the practice or consent of nations or the opinions of the jurists who have written on the subject. The greatest distance to which any respectable assent seems to have been given, is the extent of the human sight, estimated at something more than 20 miles. The least claimed by any nation is the utmost range of cannon shot, usually stated at one sea league, or three sea miles which is a very small portion less than 3½ statute or american miles. Several intermediate distances have been insisted on under different circumstances, & that particularly of 3 sea leagues has the support of some authorities which are recent. However as the nations which practice navigation on our coasts are interested in this question, it is thought prudent not to assume the whole distance which we may reasonably claim, until some opportunity shall occur of entering into

* From Archives of the Library of Congress. At that time the United States district attorneys were but five in number.

friendly explanations and arrangements with them on the subject, but as in the mean time it is necessary to exercise the right to some distance, the President has thought it best, *so far as shall concern the exercise of the executive Powers*, to take the distance of a sea league, which being fitted by treaty between some of the belligerent Powers, and as little as any of them claim on their own coasts, can admit of no reasonable opposition on their part. The *executive officers* are therefore instructed to consider a margin of one sea league on our coast as that within which all hostilities are interdicted for the present, until it shall be otherwise signified to them. The rivers and bays as being land locked, are of course by the law of nations, and I presume by the laws of most of the states, within the body of the United States, and under the same protection from hostilities.

As the question whether a capture has been made within these limits is a question of fact to be decided by witnesses, it becomes necessary to take measures for the examination of these witnesses in the different states where captures may happen, and the laws of the union having as yet made no provision for this purpose, the President considers the attornies of the several Districts as the persons the most capable of discharging the office with knowledge, with impartiality, and with that extreme discretion which is essential in all matters wherein foreign nations are concerned. I have the honor therefore, Sir, to inclose you a paper expressing the desire of the President on this subject—

You will see by that that whenever a capture is suggested to have been made within the limits above mentioned, so far as they are within your state, the Governor to whom the first application will be made is desired to give you notice thereof, whereupon it is hoped you will proceed as the paper points out. The representatives here of the different Powers are informed of this arrangement, and desired to instruct their consuls to facilitate the proceedings as far as shall depend on them; and it is unnecessary for me to suggest what your own judgment and disposition would dictate that the same object will be promoted by a certain degree of respect to which the Consuls are entitled, and a just and friendly attention to their convenience. I have the honor to be with sentiments of respect Sir,

Your most obedt. servt.

As stated in a previous chapter, the President was absent from Germantown on his tour to Lancaster and Reading from November 10th to 17th.

On his return to Germantown, Washington occupied the house now No. 5442 Main Street, and here on the 18th a cabinet meeting was held. Genet's letters received by Jefferson during the President's absence were read and considered. Next was taken up and discussed the subjects to be communicated in the speech to Congress. First, and most important per-

haps, was the explanation to be given to Congress of the proclamation of neutrality, issued April 23d, 1793. Randolph read the statement which he had prepared. Hamilton did not approve it, saying the President had a right to declare his opinions to our citizens and foreign nations, that it was not to the interest of this country to join in the war of France against England, that we were under no obligations to join in it, and though the proclamation could not bind Congress, yet the President had the right to give his opinion. Further, he was opposed to any intimation in the speech that it was not intended that this should be a declaration of neutrality for the future as well as for the present. Both Randolph and Jefferson opposed this opinion, and this was one of the cases where the cabinet stood two to two.

Jefferson had stated some time before in a letter to Monroe that the cabinet usually stood 2½ to 1½. Hamilton and Knox were invariably to be found together on one side of a question, Jefferson, with equal persistency, on the other, and the rather unstable Randolph sometimes on one side, sometimes the other, and sometimes a half on both.

Dimensions of the [illegible]

Doorway of the Morris House

In this discussion, Jefferson thought the President had not the right to declare anything future on the question, "Shall there or shall there not be war?" and that no such thing was intended; that Hamilton's construction of the effect of the proclamation would have been a determination of the question of the *guarantee* * which neither of them had intended, and which Jefferson had previously declared the executive was incompetent to do. Randolph said that his intention had been, when preparing the draft, that foreign nations should understand it as an intimation of the President's opinion that neutrality would be our interest. Jefferson contended that foreign nations should understand no such thing, and on the contrary, he would have them remain in doubt, and come and bid for the neutrality of the United States. The President having received the nation at the close of Congress in a state of peace, was bound to preserve it in the same condition until Congress should again reassemble, and he might proclaim anything which would make no change in this condition.

* This was the guarantee in the treaty of alliance with France that should France become engaged in a defensive war the United States would undertake to protect the French West Indies.

Washington then stated that it was not his idea that he could bind Congress not to declare war, if they should wish to do so on their assembling, and that the proclamation did not look beyond the first day of their meeting. His main desire was to keep the nation at peace. He rather apologized for the term neutrality, but justified himself in its use because he had submitted it to the cabinet on former occasions, and none of its members had objected to the term. He asked Hamilton to prepare a paragraph on this subject which could be considered later. At this point the cabinet adjourned for dinner.

After dinner* a long discussion ensued as to the advisability of dismissing Citizen Genet, but as this has already been dwelt upon at some length, it seems unnecessary to follow the various opinions expressed. As usual Hamilton and Knox stood together, urging his dismissal, while Jefferson and Randolph opposed it. The President lamented that there was not unanimity, and the discussion of the question had left him just where he was when they had begun. The meeting then closed for the day.

* Washington usually dined at three o'clock. It would seem likely that the cabinet officers dined with the President on these occasions.

Three days later, on the 21st, another meeting was held at the President's house, and the explanation of the neutrality proclamation to Congress was again considered. It might be said in passing, that this was the first proclamation of the kind issued by this government, and it was the foundation of a policy which, rigidly adhered to since, has had much to do in shaping the destiny and prosperity of the country. Washington and his cabinet were fully alive to its importance and the necessity of presenting it in the best light to Congress. The lapse of more than half a year since it had been put forth, the discussion it had provoked, the resentment felt against it by the active sympathizers of France, and the difficulties in enforcing it, made it the most important matter to be presented to Congress. At this meeting Randolph produced another essay, expressing his views that the proclamation was for two effects: to keep our citizens quiet and to convey to foreign nations that it was the President's opinion that the interests of this country were for peace. Hamilton then produced the draft which at the last meeting the President had asked him to prepare. This was criticized by Randolph and Jefferson,

and on the question as to which of the two forms should be adopted, Jefferson voted for Randolph's, though it did not quite please him, and Knox stood up for Hamilton. The President did not decide between the two drafts, and there the matter ended for the day.

Another meeting convened at the President's two days later, on Saturday, the 23d. Hamilton was detained from attending by illness, and sent a note to the President explaining his absence. The speech was again under consideration. The expediency of proposing to Congress to fortify the principal harbors was discussed. It was finally decided to suggest that means be adopted for enforcing the jurisdiction of the United States within its waters, which meant practically the same thing.

It was also proposed that a recommendation be made to establish a military academy. Jefferson objected that the constitution gave no authority to Congress for such a purpose. General Knox naturally was for this and the previous proposition. Randolph opposed the first proposition, but was silent as to the second. The President doubted the expediency of the former, and while he thought the establishment

of a military academy would be a good thing, still he was anxious not to bring on anything that might generate heat and ill humor. It was agreed at this meeting that Randolph should draw up the speech and Jefferson the messages.

Again on the 28th the cabinet assembled at the President's temporary home, with all the members present. A list of Genet's letters, being copied for transmittal to Congress, was read, and some directed to be omitted. The Attorney General then read his draft of the President's speech. The clause which the President had approved, recommending the fortifications, was left out, and the recommendation for a military academy, which he had thought it inexpedient to propose at this time, was inserted. Jefferson still thought the latter was unconstitutional, while Hamilton and Knox approved it. The President did not wish to urge anything against the constitution, but he was impressed with the necessity of the measure, and decided he would refer it to Congress and let it decide for itself whether the constitution authorized it or not. The recommendation was, therefore, retained. Thus at Germantown was given the first official impetus to a movement

which a few years later resulted in the establishment of the military academy at West Point.

Jefferson was pleased to note that Randolph had used, by accident, the expression "Our Republic," to which, at the time, the President made no objection, although Jefferson states that on a former occasion it had disconcerted him.* It was now put into his own mouth to be pronounced to the two houses of Congress. No material change was made in the speech, and the cabinet adjourned for dinner.

After dinner Jefferson produced the draft of the message on the subject of our relations with England and France, proposing that that relating to Spain should be sent in later and be secret. Hamilton objected to the draft, criticising what in his opinion were too strong expressions of friendliness for France, and offering to prove that Great Britain had shown this country more favors than France. Jefferson in deference to this criticism endeavored to whittle down some of the expressions and struck out others entirely. Still the essay was not satisfactory to

* Probably as in a measure recognizing the government of France as a republic. It should be noted, however, that the expression does not appear in the speech as it was delivered to Congress.

Hamilton, who then proposed that the whole message should be transmitted to Congress as a secret communication, as the matters were still pending. In connection with Great Britain, there were the inexecution of the treaty of peace and the carrying of corn cargoes into English ports. Randolph proposed that the first matter should be sent in publicly, but that the second should not be sent in at present. Jefferson was anxious that both should go in as open documents, and warmly presented his views, whereupon the President took up the subject with considerable vehemence, declaring that both subjects should go in as public. This was the first instance, Jefferson notes, in which the President had decided a matter on the opinion of one cabinet officer as against the other three. This closed the discussion and ended the last formal cabinet meeting held in Germantown.

CHAPTER X.

The Record of a Busy Month.

THE following extracts from the personal journal, kept by the President, giving an account of the various letters and matters of business brought before him, give a comprehensive view of the executive business which claimed his attention during the busy November in Germantown. The journal itself is in the archives of the Library of Congress.

JOURNAL OF LETTERS SUBMITTED TO CABINET, 1793.

Set out from Mount Vernon the 28. October & arrived at Germantown the 1st of Novemr.

Saturday 2d November 1793.

The Secretary of State submitted for my perusal & information, the following papers—

A Letter from Jno. Kendricks dated 1st March 93. enclosing Deeds of land which he says he purchased on the Nor: West Coast of America.

A Letter from Mr. Short dated Aranjuez 7. June 93. mentioning the stagnation of the

negotiation with which he & Mr. Carmichael are charged. his situation very disagreeable, not being able to complete the business for which he was sent, & not thinking himself authorised to return, for fear of causing alarm, wish direction from the President, wch. he hopes soon to receive.

A Letter from Jno. Parish, Consul at Hamburg, dated 19. July 93—acknowledging rect. of his Commission—encloses copy of his recognition by the Senate of Hamburg.—

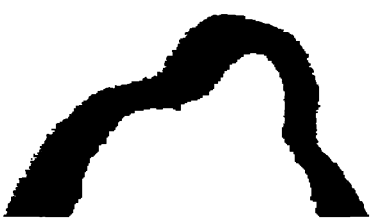
A Letter from Mr. Pinckney dated London 1 Augt.—sends 20,000 wt. Copper for the Mint by the Pigon, Capt. Loxly.—

A Letter from Mr. Fox, Consul at Falmouth, 12 Augt. 1793 enclosing note of American ships arrived at Falmouth. American seamen impressed—has sued his endeavours with success to have them liberated.—

A Letter from D. Humphreys, Lisbon 15 Augt. 93. nothing of importance.—

A Letter from Jas. Simpson, Gibraltar 23 Augt. 93. Nothing of importance.—

A Letter from Joshua Johnson, London 24 Augt. 93. enclosing his letters to Mr. Stevens, Secy. to the Lords of the Admiralty,



respecting the delivery of impressed seamen. has received no answer thereto. Begs Mr. Jeffersons attention to an enclosed list of American Vessels taken by british ships of war. representations have been made without effect.—

A Letter from Jas Simpson, 25 Augt. 1793.—

Do. from Natt: Cutting, Lisbon 3d Sep: 1793. being detained at London for want of a safe passage is only now arrived at Lisbon—where Colo. Humphreys means to charter a vessel to convey him to the place of his destination.

Do. from Brown Folger, Boston 1st Octo: 1793. Capt. of the Ship Harpooner taken by the french privateer Marseilles & brot. to Boston. begs Mr. Jeffersons attention to his case. Wishes to obtain 1-10 part of the Cargo as his due. complained to the french Consul without obtaining redress.—

Do. from John Brown & others recommending David Howell as successor to Willm. Channing, Dist: Atty: for Rhode Island. dated 2d Octobr: 1793—

Do. from David Howell 4. Octo: 93. sollicting the above office.

Do. from Govr. Lee, Richmond 4 Octo: 93 covering Memorial of Mr. Hamilton, british Consul at Norfolk respecting the refitting of the french privateer Republic at Portsmouth.—

Returned the foregoing to the Secretary of State.

Monday 4 November 1793—

The Secretary of State laid before me the following papers—

Letter from Messrs. Carmichael & Short, dated Madrid 15 Augt. 1793. enclosing copy of correspondence between them and Mr. Gardoque respecting the establishment of Olivier among the Creek Indians—taking upon him the title of an officer & Commissioner of H. C. M. with that nation—and of the Baron de Carondelet's, & other agents of Spain exciting animosities in the Indians against the U States.—

Letter from Wm. Short dated St. Il defonso 20. Augt. 93. enclosing copy of Convention between Spain & G. Britain, signed at Aranjuez 25. May 1793.—

Letter from T. Pinckney Esq: enclosing a statement of the case of Mr. Philip Wilson

owner of the Ship Mentor, as submitted to Lord Grenville 8. June 1793.—said Ship was driven on shore & destroyed near Cape Henlopen by the british ships of war Centurion and Vulture on the 1st April last.—

Letter from the same, stating the delay wch. is continually taking place & obstacles thrown in the way of owners of American vessels captured obtaining justice from the british Governmt. & enclosing a correspondence with Lord Grenville on this subject. Mr. P. also enclosed a letter from Thos. Digges relative to an attempt of some person to have paper manufactured at a paper mill in England, with an intention, as he suspected, to counterfeit the public securities of some of the US.—

Letter from Colo. Humphreys mentioning the arrival of Capt. Cutting—& his intention to depart as soon as possible for Gibralter.—

Letter from Ezra Fitz Freeman, covering a petition to me from Abraham Freeman who had been imprisoned in Jersey for aiding in counterfeiting public securities & who has fled to Canada, may be pardoned & allowed to return.—

Letter from Stephen Moylan 19. Sep: 93. notifying his non acceptance of the office of Marshal of Pennsylva. Dist. which was offered to him.—

Letter from Christr. Gore Esqr., Boston 21. Octobr. has submitted to the Grd. Jury a a bill agst. Mr. Duplaine which was rejected.—two bills returned by the Jury—one against four American Citizens for entering on board the Roland french privateer the other against a French man for fitting out said privateer.—

Letter from Tobias Lear Esqr. enclosing a representation from Cap: Walch of the Brigantine Maria, of his being captured & plundered &c. by the Cap: of the Medee french frigate—& his recapture by a british letter of Marque.

Two Letters from Elias Vanderhorst, dated Bristol 1st & 3d Septr.—giving general state of things there—& stating the inconveniences & injustices to which American Vessels are subjected by improper captures & detention in the english ports.—

Returned the foregoing to the Secretary.

Wednesday 6th November 1793.

The Secretary of State submitted the following Letters of this date, which he had written, for my approbation—

To Messrs. Viar & Jaudennes, in answer to one from them informing that the french proscribed privateer Le Vanqueur de la Bastille, had taken a spanish vessel & carried her into North Carolina.—Mr. Jefferson's letter informs them that the Secy. of War is directed to write to the Govr. of No. Carolina on the subject—& has no doubt justice will be done.—

to the Secy. of War, containing the above information, with directions to write to the Govr. of No. Carolina desiring him to have the decisions of the Government in such cases put in execution.—

to Messrs. Viar & Jaudennes in answer to their's stating that four frenchmen had set out from Philada. for Kentucky in order to promote an enterprize against the Spanish settlemts. on the Missisipi—informs that every lawful means will be used to prevent such a measure.—

to the Governor of Kentucky giving the above

information with a description of the men, & desiring that measures may be taken to prevent anything of the kind.—

Approved the above letters & returned them to the Secretary.—

At 11 o'Clock the Trustees of the Public School of Germantown waited on me with an address which was read by Henry Hill Esq: offering the school houses for the use of Congress shou'd they convene there.—*

Thursday 7. November 1793—

The Secretary of State laid before me,

A Letter from Mr. Genet to him of the 30. Sep: enclosing a decree of the National Conv: relative to the treaty of Commerce.

A Letter from Mr. Hammond of this date, covering evidence respecting the capture of the Ship Rochampton, by the french privateer Industry—& demanding restoration of said Ship; &

A Letter from Do. of same date, enclosing evidence to prove that the brig Pilgrim was captured by the french privateer Sans

*This address is given in full on page 106.

Culottes within the jurisdiction of the US. & demanding said brig to be restored.—

The Secretary of State also submitted the following for my approbation. of this day's date.

Letter to Mr. Genet returning copy of decree of that Convention relative to treaty of Commerce & to have some error rectified—& requesting to be furnished with the original Commissions of Messrs. Pennevest & Chervi, before Exequators can be granted them;—

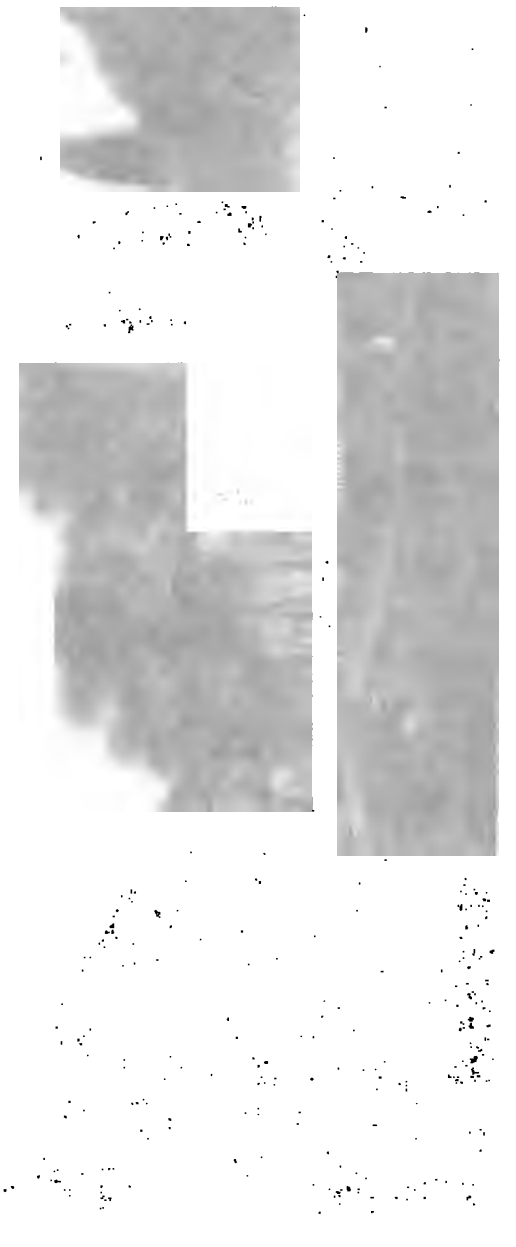
to Do. covering copy of a letter from the french consul at Baltimore to the Govr. of Maryland —announcing that G[reat] B[ritain] is about to commence hostilities against the US. & his intention to collect the french fleet in Chesapeake bay in order to be prepared to oppose such hostilities.—Mr. Genet's interference is desired to prevent the Consul's making any such preparation, & he is requested to declare by what authority the Consul makes this assertion.—

Letters to the Ministers of France & G. B. respecting the extension of the jurisdiction of the US. into the sea—& informing them that the President had fixed upon the dis-

A.W. Elson & Co. Boston.

The Old Market Square

Fronting the Presidents House



tance of one sea league or 3 Geograpl. miles as the distance by which officers of the US. are to be governed in cases arising on this subject.—*

Approved & returned the foregoing to the Secy.

Friday 8th November 1793.—

The Secretary of State laid before me the proceedings of the Governor of the Terry. South of the Ohio, from 1 March to 1 Sept: —& at the same time reported that he had examined the same & found nothing therein requiring the immediate agency of the President.—

Saturday 9. November.—

The Secy. of State sent the following papers;

A Letter from Mr. Pinckney of 15. Augt. (submitted some days ago in Cypher, now decypher) mentioning that the B. Govert. still persist in measures they have adopted towards neutral nations.—judging from the dispositions of the People he thinks the present campaign would terminate the war—but judging from those of men in authority, he

*In reference to this matter see page 140.

thinks the war will be persisted in 'till their finances fail — wch. period he conceives is not far distant.

Commission for my signature appointing Brakenridge Dist: Attorney for Kentucky. signed the same.—

Letter from Michl. Murphy, dated Malaga, 18. Sept; 93. covering treaty of alliance between G. B. & Spain:—

Letter from Colo. Humphreys of 3d Sep: — not yet gone from Lisbon — will set out as soon as he can with safety — confirms his former intimation of same dangerous proposition, made by Spain to Engd. relative to the US.—

Returned the above to the Secy.—

(The date when the following matters were presented to the President is not given in the Journal. He was absent from Germantown the week of November 10th to 17th.)

Receiv'd a Letter from the Gov: of No. Carolina dated Newbern 21 Octo. 93. containing a statement relative to the french privateer Le Vanqueur de la bastille, taking the british sloop Providence and fitting her out at the mouth of Cape Fear river as a privateer,

contrary to decisions of the Governmt.—with his proceedings in consequence.—and enclosing the following papers relative to the same—No. 1. Letter from Mr. Hervieux, Capt. of the privateer, to Colo. Smith. No. 2. Deposition of Nathl. Hill & others. No. 3. Capt. Hervieux to Colo. Smith 7. Octo: —Do. to Majr. Wright for settling cases of captures—& requestg. that punctual attendance thereto may be given by their Consuls.—

Letter to Messrs. Viar & Jaudennes of 10th Novr. covering the Governor of Kentucky's answer relative to military enterprise said to be projected against Spanish settlements:—also the information of the Gov: of No. Carolina respecting the Spanish prize carried in there.

Letter to the Minist: of G: B. 13. Nov: on the inexecution of the treaty by G. B.—

Do. to Govr. Moultrie 13. Nov: relative to an enterprize said by Mr. Genet to be intended against Turtle Island:—& requesting the Governor's attention thereto, & to prevent anything of the kind if contemplated.—

Letter to Judge Morris, of New Jersey, 13. Nov: covering Ezra Fitz Freeman's petition

for the pardon of his Son—& desiring information in his case.—

Do. to Mr. Hammond, 14 Nov: respecting the Rochampton & Industry.—

Do. to Dist: Attorney for Maryld. directing an enquiry in the case of the brig Conyngham —captured by the Sans Culottes—dated 14. Nov.

Letter to Do. desiring information respecting the condemnation by the French Consul of the Rochampton & Industry.—dated 14. Nov.

Do. to the Dist: Attorney of Pennsylvania, 15. Nov: directing him to proceed in the case of the Ship Williams.—

Do. to Mr. Genet notifying that the Attorney of Pennsa. will proceed as above directed to a final settlemt. of the case of the Ship Williams.—dated 15. Nov: 93—

Letter to Mr. Hammond, 15 Nov: containing the above information.

Return'd to the Secretary.

The Secretary of War laid before me dispatches from Majr. Genl. Wayne, dated 17. Sept. & 5. Octobr.—the first mentions the rect. of the first letter from the Commrs. on the 11

Sep:. the same day one of the Spies came in & related what had passed at the Indian Councils held at the rapids of the Miami of the Lake—which, in substance, is that the british agents were the cause of the failure of the treaty. were furnishing the Indians with provisions, arms, &c—their numbers may amount to 2000.—Genl. Wayne's means of transportation were scattered at the time the Commrs. letter was received. but orders were issued to the Quarter Master &c. to collect them as speedily as possible. Sends a list of promotions and appointmts—with the organization of the sub-legions. Copies of his Genl. orders. Has doubts of the propriety of acting upon the sentence of the Court Martial in the case of Ensign Morgan, therefore he transmits the proceedings of the Court. Sends copies of letters from Piamings (Chicasaw Chief) to Genl. Robinson—with the report of Lieut: Wm. Clarke who carried supplies to the Chicasaw Nation—& with whom return'd Underwood a Chief, & Eight Warriors, who were determined to join his army.—Approves the conduct of Lt.

Clarke in the business.—Dispatch of 5. October mentions, some clothes for the Dragoons & Artillery, damaged. Capt: Haskell arrived with his Company 68 in number—14 with the small-pox. Capt. Cummings also arrived with a debilitated Company of 43 men.—arraigns the conduct of Colo. Clark for countermanding the Escort with the clothing, ammunition, intrenching tools &c. & for other causes. Done all he can to bring forward the Mounted Volunteers of Kentucky. Correspondence with Gov: Shelby & Genl. Scott shewing the difficulty of getting them. only about 360 arrived at the date of this letter.—Number of Officers & men sick. After leaving garrisons &c. at the several posts, he will not be able to advance beyond Fort Jefferson with more than 2600, including Officers.—Will advance tomorrow (the 6 Octor.) to gain a strong position about 6 miles in front of Fort Jefferson, & await a favorable opportunity to strike.—thinks the enemy are collecting in full force to oppose the Legion in some unfavorable position, where the Cavalry cannot

act.—thinks the Indians cannot continue long embodied, for want of provisions. If the Volunteers would advance in force the Savages might be made to sue for peace but he will not commit the Legion unnecessarily; & unless he is more powerfully supported than at present he has reason to expect, he will content himself with taking a strong position advanced of Fort Jefferson, & endeavour to protect the frontiers during the winter—or until he receives further orders.—

Tuesday 19. November.—

The Secretary of State sent for my information, Letter from Colo. Humphreys, Lisbon 13. Septr. mentioning his having chartered a Swedish vessel at the rate of 340 mill rees [millries] pr. month.—will set out in two days. an American vessel has been taken by the Algierines. crew fortunately escaped. Dutch about to send an Embassy to treat with the Algierines. Very doubtful of the success of his negotiation. Mr. Church charged with the affairs of the US. during his absence.—

Letter from Do. 16. Sep: on the point of embarkation.

Do. from Do. 17. Septr: under way in Lisbon harbour.

Do. from Wm. Neilson, New York 5. Nov: enclosing a representation made by Capt: Hervey of the Ship Ellice—of his being taken from his Ship laying at anchor off Sandy Hook & carried on board L'Eole french ship of war, by order of Adml. Sercey, & of the unjustifiable treatmt. he received.

Returned them to the Secry.

Thursday 21 November 1793—

The Secretaries & the Attorney General met to day on business which had occupied them at one or two meetings before. the result of the whole will appear by minutes taken & subscribed by them.—

Friday 22d November 1793—

The Secretary of War laid before me a

Letter from Ensign I. Morgan, containing very exceptionable sentiments respecting his arrest & trial on the charges of Genl. St. Clair,

& his objections to the proceedings as sent on by the Judge Advocate.

The Secretary of State submitted for my approbation a Letter to Mr. Genet of this date desiring to know whether the british vessels Jane, Lovely Lass, and Prince Wm. Henry, have been given up agreeably to decisions of the President—& if they have not, desiring they may be restored to their former owners.—also,

Letter to the same, covering the Commissions of Messrs. Pennevest & Chervi, as not having been communicated thro' the proper chanl.

Approved & returned to the Secy.

The Secretary sent for my information the following letters from Mr. Hammond, of this day's date—to wit—

One mentioning his readiness to enter into friendly conference respecting extension of the jurisdiction of the US. from the sea shore—& his acquiescence in the provisional decision on this subject.—

One mentioning his having given directions to B. Consuls to pursue measures for facilitating

the object of the regulations concerning jurisdiction ;—

One stating his having directed the Vice Consul for Maryland to expedite the final adjustment of the case of the brigs Conyngham & Pilgrim—& to the Consul Genl. if the Middle & Southern States for settling that of the ship Williams ;—

One informing that he has not yet received definite instructions so as to enable him to renew the discussion of the fulfilmt. of the treaty—is confident that the continuance of the cause alluded to in his Letter of 20. June, is the reason of this delay ;—and

One on the subject of the Rochampton.—

& the Secrety. also sent me a Letter of this date from Genl. Knox, informing that Genl. Stewart would decline, if offer'd to him, the office of Inspector of Philada.—& enclosing a deposition relative to the capture of the Conyngham & Pilgrim.—

Return'd them to the Secy. of State.

Saturday 23d November 1793—

Had a meeting with the Heads of Depmts. (except the Secy. of the Treasury who was

unwell) & the Attory. General, to agree upon the several matters to be communicated in the Speech to Congress at the opening of the Session near at hand.

Put the proceedings of the Court Martial on the trial of Ensign Morgan, & his letter to the Secy. of War, into the hands of the Attorney General to consider the legality of his complaint &c.—

Signed Commissions appointing, Arthur Livermore, Ud. States' Attorney for the District of New Hampshire. Robert Denny, Collector of the port of Annapolis. William McPherson, Naval Officer of Philada. Robt. Scot, Engraver at the Mint of the US. Willm. Barker, to the 2d Mate of the So. Carolina Revenue Cutter; and Matthew Cozons to the 3d Mate of the same.—

Monday 25. November 1793

Sent an answer to the Letter from Alexander White Esq: which enclosed resolution of the Citizens of Frederick County, Virginia.

The Secrey. of State submitted a Letter from Edwd. Church of 22d Septr. mentioning

the death of Capt. Denney, at Lisbon, said to be of Baltimore.—

Letter from Edwd. Church of same date mentioning the departure of Colo. Humphreys —& containing his sentiments relative to the affairs of Europe—Algierines &c.—also covering copy of his letter of 31 July last.

Letters from Do. of 25 Septr. respecting french & spanish affairs—& mentioning his having just recd. a note from the Minister of foreign affairs,—informing that the Govr. of Madeira had been ordered to make compensation to Mr. Pintard for detention of his vessel bound to Bourdeaux.—

Tuesday 26 November 1793—

Returned to the Secy. of State the Letters &c. of Mr. Church submitted yesterday.

Returned to the Secy. of the Treasury two proposals submitted in his Letter to me of 18 inst.—for repairing the mason's work of the Tyber Lighthouse—& informed him that I approv'd of the one made by John Armour for doing said work for 250 dollars.—sent also the Commissioner of the Revenue's letter transmitg. the above to the Secry.—

At the same time I returned to the Secretary two proposals, enclosed in his letter of 19 inst. for doing the Carpenters work of said Lighthouse—& the Commissioner of the Revenue's letter enclosing them to him.—I informed the Secy. that I approved the proposal of Adrienus Van Denne for doing the same with the *plain stair case*, for £110 sterling.—

Recd. a Letter from Gov: Clinton dated 24. inst: enclosing correspondence with Mr. Genet respecting the Carmagnole privateer &c.—wishes to know how to proceed.—is going to Albany.—

Sent the above to the Secy. of War to consider and prepare such answer to Gov: Clinton's —referring him to rules laid down for preservation of our neutrality.—& that the Letter he had transmitted to the Gov: this day, was conclusive with respect to the Carmagnole.—

Approv'd & return'd to the Secy.

Friday 29 November 1793

The Secretary of State sent for my information the following Letters &c.—to wit

from Thos. Pinckney Esqr. of the 25 Septr. 93. has renewed his application, officially, in behalf of M. de la Fayette. no answer yet received. his confinement not so rigorous as heretofore. money lodged by Mr. Morris supplies his wants. T. P. has lately, however, paid a draft of M. de la Fayette for 6,000 livres, to assist him to emerge from captivity.

Letter from Ditto—27. Septr.—enclosing duplicate of one of 25th relative to captures of vessels &c.—also mentioning that the remainder of the Copper for the Mint had been sent. transmits his accots. to 1st July last. directed insurance to be made on all the Copper—and enclosing case of the Ship Lawrens of Charleston, relative to which there appears to have been some unjustifiable proceedings on the part of the french captors.

Do. from Rob: Morris, Dist: Attorney for New Jersey, dated 25. Nov: 93. containing information in the case of Clarkson Freeman, which represents said Freeman's conduct very unfavorably.

The above were returned to the Secretary.

Saturday 30th November 1793

The Secretary of State sent for my information a Letter from Mr. Morris, our Minister in France, dated Sain port 25. June 93. enclosing a correspondence with Mr. Le Brun, respecting an outrage committed by the crew of a french privateer, upon that of an American vessel called the little Cherub—and the repeal of the Decree of the Nationl. Conven. of 9. May 93 exempting American vessels from seizure &c. with observations by Mr. Morris on the state of things in that Country.—also

A Letter from Mr. Soderstrom of this days date covering a copy of one to him from the Consul General of Sweden, at Algiers, dated 7. Augt. 93—mentioning the miserable situation of some American captives there, and expressing a willingness to endeavour to have them released.—Mr. Soderstrom requests to know of the Secy. what answer he shall give to the Consul Genl.—

The foregoing were returned to the Secretary.

The Secretary of War submitted the draft of a letter he proposed to send to Ensign Morgan—informing him that the proceedings of

the Court Martial had been returned to Genl. Wayne to decide upon finally—and answering sundry objections made by said Morgan.—The Secrey. was informed that if the facts stated in the above draft were unequivocal, I approve the same.—

At the same time the Secy. of War submitted a Letter No. 66 from Majr. Genl. Wayne, dated camp SW. Branch of Miami 6 miles advanced of Fort Jefferson, 23d October. 1793—marched from Hobson's choice the 7. Octo. & arrived at his present situation the 13. where he was obliged to halt for want of provision. been much deceived by the Contractors. Deposits at Jefferson not more than a quarter part of what he had ordered; & the means of transportation not even adequate to the supply of the Garrison there. Has therefore ordered the Qua: M: Genl. to desist from supplying forage or stores in his own Departmt. & to assist in the Contractor's.—The Contractors acknowledge their incapacity to comply with requisition of daily issues & deposits, for want of the means of transportation. Refers for the detail of this business to his en-

closed correspondence with the Contractors. Notwithstanding the defect on the part of the Contractors, thinks he can support the troops at a place between Ft. Jefferson & the field of battle 4 Nov:. Thinks it out of the question to think of giving up an inch of ground.—Greatest difficulty arises from want of sufficient number of men to act as Conveys, & at the same time to keep a sufficiency in Camp in case of attack.—Lieut: Lowry and Ensign Boyd, with a command of 90 men (having in charge 20 waggons belonging to the Qr. Mr. Dept. & 1 of the Contractors, loaded with grain & stores) were attacked the 17. Octobr: about 7 miles advanced of Fort St. Clair. Lowry & Boyd (two promising & deserving young men) with 13 non-commissioned officers & privates, killed, being abandoned by the majority of the men at the first discharge. *70 horses* lost. *waggons & lading* left uninjured; & since brought into camp.—*Encloses* return of killed & missing. 13 killed. 11 missing.—*Also field* return of troops with him—which is 2043, including officers & privates fit for duty—out of wch. one Compy.

of Lt. infantry & 1 troop of Dragoons, have been detached the morning he writes, to reinforce 4 Comps. under Majr. Hamtramck, as an escort &c.—

Return of mounted Volunteers under Genl. Scott encamped near Ft. Jefferson, 1029 fit for duty. *Will order* a strong detachmt. of them to join the escort under Majr. Hamtramck.—*Reported* that the Indians have secreted their women & children, & all their warriors collected.—& has spies in every direction. has secured in camp 70,000 rations, & expects 120,000 by the next convoy. *Indians* can't continue long embodied for want of provision. *A great* number of men left sick at the differt. garrisons, with the influenza. *Genl. Wilkinson* been very ill at Ft. Jefferson; but now recovering. *Want of* officers a serious misfortune. Has accepted the resignation of Lieut: Colo: Jno. Smith of the 3d sub legion. Major Ballard Smith, and Captain Melcher & Tillinghast under arrest, & will probably be dismissed the service as soon as circumstances will admit of a General Court Martial being called, which is impracticable at present.—means

to change his ground soon. Expects to meet with opposition; but will not too far commit the Legion.—

Returned the foregoing to the Secy. of War.

CHAPTER XI

Some Germantown Washington Letters

THE following letters to and from Washington, while a resident of Germantown, have been copied from the originals or drafts and copies in the Library of Congress. With but one or two exceptions they have not heretofore been in print.

"A CITIZEN OF VIRGINIA" TO WASHINGTON.

Virginia *28 Octr:* 1793.

Sir:

The question, no doubt, has often occurred to you: "where will the Congress meet?" "by their adjournment," which is law to them, at Philadelphia; but, by a physical necessity, more imperious, than law itself, at Philadelphia they cannot meet. You, Sir, as President of the United States, by the impolitic and narrow jealousy of the Constitution, have a right to convene Congress; but, not to appoint the place. but, in this instance, the salus populi, which is literally at stake, is the suprema lex, & must prevail. The crying necessity not only suspends the law, but quoad hoc, rides over the constitution & tramples it under foot.

clear as this is, still you may feel yourself under a dilemma, because illiberal cavil & prompt opposition never suffer an occasion to escape, that affords an opportunity of exercising petulance, & vociferating abuse—to offer to you advice, who, no doubt, will adopt the fittest expedient, may seem presuming; I have therefore suppressed my name, which, at your desire, shall nevertheless be communicated. the expedient, I would with all deference to your better judgment recommend, is, "to write a circular letter to each member of Congress, setting forth the difficulty of the case, (if there be in truth any in it) & proposing different places for their choice, Alexandria, George Town Baltimore, Annapolis, New York, or any other place the majority fixed on, at that place let them be convened"—this may be done by Proclamation, and shelter the executive from any charge of infracting the Constitution, by the assumption of powers, not warranted by the Constitution—should this proposal meet with your approbation, there will be just time enough to carry it into execution, for, from |this day there are five weeks before the meeting of Congress.

Your goodness and condescension will excuse this obtrusion of my sentiments on you, even if they be erroneous, from my supposing a constitutional embarassment where there is none; & impute it to my zeal, "to suggest any expedient in this crisis," which my weak judgment leads me to suppose, may, in any the smallest degree, tend to the facilitation of government. with every consideration of respect & esteem for your

private & public character I remain your fellow citizen & faithful servant—

"A Citizen of Virginia"—

JONATHAN TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon 31st. Octo. 1793—

Dear Sir

By some unaccountable delay, the Letter with which you have favored me, of the 13th. inst. did not reach me 'till the 30th.—

While writing mine of the 2d. of this month, the doubt which you have been pleased to mention, respecting the Law of Congress fixg. the seat of Government, occurred to me:—but turng. to the Law, I found the 5th sec: mentions—"That prior &c. *all Offices* attached to the Seat of Government shall be removed to Phila. &c. at which place, the session of Congress *next ensuing* shall be held."—the 6th. Sec: mentions "That in *the year 1800* the Seat of Government shall be transferred &c. and *all Offices* &c. shall be also removed" &c—but not a word of the Legislature—by which it would seem, *it* is left to its own adjournments, and the discretion of the President *on extra occasions*—

Indeed I conceived that the Constitution, in granting this discretion, must have contemplated *place*, as well as *time* of meeting—because the necessity for its exercise, might be grounded equally in one as the other—Witness the existing instance—the first that has occurred—

Moreover the Constitution must be paramount to the Law in such Cases:—otherwise the power granted may be so controuled as not to be sufficient to surmount the necessity of the occasion—the like necessity may also exist under other circumstances—such as, the total destruction of the City by fire, of other means,—its being in complete possession of an Enemy —& other insurmountable calamities which might occur.—In all which cases, if the Law fixing the Seat of Government must rise superior to the Constitution; the discretionary Power of the President, calculated to afford a remedy under such exigencies, must be futile, & prove totally inadequate to the purposes for which it was intended.—

I also considered, that should doubts arise, they would be easily obviated by reflecting, that this exercise of discretion could not be dangerous;—because it would be in the power of Congress, as soon as met, to remedy the Evil, should they apprehend any, by an immediate adjournment to wherever they might judge proper.—besides it is calculated to remedy an existing inconvenience & danger to themselves, which in its nature, is only temporary, & is hoped to prove of but short continuance.—

As to the Place of meeting, I am very sensible it will be an object of delicacy to decide.—When I took the liberty to suggest the hints I gave to you, this difficulty presented itself—; and I was then almost tempted to add a word on that head, but was repressed by the fear of assuming too much.—I therefore now

mention—what I before thought—that in casting about, it is probable the Towns of Baltimore & New York will present themselves to your Mind, as the most convenient places.—to the latter I am sensible Objections will be started by some; notstandg. its superior advantages perhaps for the present temporary occasion.—to obviate therefore these objections to New York, should they appear with weight—and to save any uneasiness in the minds of our southern Brethern from that Quarter, I have thought for myself, (& in this I have been joined by others)—that I should perfectly acquiesce in Baltimore.—I should mention the expedient of convening Congress somewhere in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and leave the final decision of *Place* to their determination; but that I fear, such Event may occasion disputes & delay—not to say heats perhaps—which might prove much more detrimental to our general Interests, than your fixing at once a place by your own Judgment & discretion.—I most sincerely hope, that, whatever place is appointed, the melancholly occasion of leaving Philadelphia may speedily be removed—and that Congress may soon be able to return to that City again.—

With real regard & respect, I am,
most affectionately,

Dear Sir
Your obedient & obliged
humble servant
J. Trumbull—

PS:—Before closing this Letter,
we are gratified with much more
favorable Accounts from Phila. than
for some time past—I really hope they
may prove true—and that circumstances in that distressed City may continue to meliorate, so that you may have complete relief from your present dilemma on that score. Yours as above—

TOBIAS LEAR TO WASHINGTON.

New York November 3d: 1793

My Dear Sir,

Presuming that you are now in Germantown, agreeably to the arrangement which yon informed me you had made for that purpose, when I had the honor of seeing you at Mount Vernon, I shall address this letter to you at that place; and have taken the liberty to enclose two copies of some observations respecting the River Potomack, the Country about it and the City of Washington, which I have noted down since my return to this place from George Town.

My object in writing these observations is to have some copies of them printed, that I may have it in my power, while in Europe, to give a more particular account, to such as may wish it, of that part of the Country which I have chosen for my establishment, than they may, as yet, have been able to obtain.

I have not had time to go so much into the detail on this subject as I wished. My view in these notes has been to give such facts respecting the Patomack

and the City as may be important to be known, in the first instance, to those who may turn their attention to that quarter.—My own knowledge of that part of the Country was too limited to allow me to depend altogether upon that for a statement of facts.—I have, therefore, as you will observe, had recourse to others on whose authority I could rely—and I have found Mr. Jefferson's notes on the State of Virginia, and some extracts, which I met with, from the Report of the Committee appointed by the Merchants of George Town & Alexandria, which is said to be founded on the actual observations made by order of the Directors of the Potomack Company, of great use to me.—I have given these observations in as plain and simple language as I was capable of doing, beleiving, if I had been able to dress them up in captivating garb, that it would not be best to do so.—A naked state of facts is all that is necessary to recommend the Potomack or the Country about it.—All comparison or reflections that might look like raising the Potomack by the depression of any other place, I have carefully avoided.—

The friendship with which you have honored me, and the indulgence you have always shewn towards such attempts as I have made to be serviceable to myself or others, emboldens me, my dear Sir, to ask the favor of your perusing the enclosed, and rectifying such errors of fact as may appear therein, and to return me one of the copies with your sanction of the statement being founded in truth, if you shall feel yourself perfectly free to do so.—

In the copies I may have printed, or otherways, I shall make no improper use of the sanction you may be pleased to give of the truth of the statement.—I wish it only for my own satisfaction, that I may feel confidence in what I relate; for altho' it will not be mentioned in the printed copies by whom the observations are made; yet as that may hereafter be known, and possibly while I am at a distance from this Country, the truth of the statement may be questioned by persons who may be interested in depreciating the subject of these notes, I shall feel gratified by having it in my power to convince those who may be interested in obtaining the truth, that they have been inspected by one whose situation has given him the best opportunity of knowing the circumstance of the Country, and who would not suffer a statement to have his sanction unless supported by truth.

At the present moment, which I know must be a busy one with you, I would not presume to offer a thing of this kind for your inspection, but under a full belief that the subject is so well understood by you that a single perusal will enable you to pass sentence upon it.

Finding that my business in Europe will first require my presence in Great Britain, I have engaged my passage in the American Ship Fanny, bound to Glascow, which is expected to sail about the 10th of this month; but I think it probable she may be detained a few days longer. She is a regular Trader to Glascow & a very fine ship. An extension of our

business will probably occasion my stay in Europe to be longer than I at first contemplated.—This has obliged me to protract the time of my sailing beyond what I expected, in order to make my arrangements to comport with the time which I may be absent.—

As I shall go to Scotland from the circumstance of the ship in which I am to sail being the first American Vessel bound from this place to Great Britain, it is my intention (if nothing should occur to make it proper for me to go to London *immediately* on my arrival to visit some of the principal manufactories of Scotland where such goods are fabricated as suit our market; and altho' I shall have letters from some respectable merchants of this place to their correspondents; yet I shall esteem it a great favor if you will have the goodness to give me letters of introduction to the Earl of Buchan & Sir John Sinclair,* who from their situations in that Country may be able to give me much useful information.—

Upon enquiring for Mr. Robinson, who took your portrait for the Earl of Buchan I am informed that he is now up the River; but is expected home in a day or two, when I shall, without fail, see him respecting the portrait.—

I have been so closely engaged in my own business since my return from George Town, that I have had but little opportunity of mixing in Society and learning the prevailing opinion of the day on politics.

* Washington complied with this request. The letters will be found on a subsequent page.

—I have heard enough, however, to know that the conduct of Mr. Genet, in the publication of his correspondence with Governor Moultrie and his letter to Mr. Jefferson, is very much disapproved.—Indeed so warm appears to be the censure of those I have heard speak on the subject, that I am not without apprehensions that the operation of party, added to the general indignation expressed at his conduct, may lead to some imprudent step towards Mr G. personally, which might be productive of unpleasant circumstances in a national view.—

The British Packet arrived here this day; but she brings no accounts so late as have been brought by other vessels from Europe.—

The accounts of the disorder in Philadelphia having been checked by the weather give great pleasure, but still there are strong expressions of anxiety on account of your being so near the City while any signs of the disorder remain in it.—Since the abatement of the disorder it seems to be a general opinion here that Congress will sit in Philadelphia.—

A man by the name of Jacob Baur, has for some days past been importuning me to mention to you his wish to fill the place about your person lately occupied by Williams.—He says he was for several years Valet de Chambre to the late Lord Barrymore, and occasionally acted as his Butler.—He shewed me a certificate give him by Lord B. in which he recommends him as an honest, sober & most valuable servant.—His present occupation is hair dresser at the

Fontine Coffee House.—I have made no enquiries respecting the man here, and shall not do it unless it is your wish to get a person of the description.—

Since my return to this place I have received several letters from my friends in Portsmouth which give me the pleasing information of my darling boy being in fine health & as full of spirits and activity as ever. —The interest which you have ever taken in the welfare of this little fellow leads me to believe that this account will be acceptable to you—and to Mrs. Washington I am likewise sure it will give pleasure.

I presume Mrs. Washington is not with you at German Town; but whether she is or not, I must beg the favor of being presented to her in terms of the liveliest respect & gratitude.—My young friends about her have my best wishes for their health & happiness and will always be remembered by me with sincere regard.

I shall do myself the honor of writing to you again before I sail, if anything should occur worthy of being communicated to you.—

With sentiments of the highest respect and unbounded attachment

I have the honor to be,
my dear Sir,
Your grateful & affectionate servant
Tobias Lear.*

The President of the United States.

*Tobias Lear had been private secretary, was later the manager of his private affairs and remained until the close of Washington's life an active and devoted friend. He was present at the death of Washington, of which he wrote a detailed account. Sparks, Vol I.

WASHINGTON TO TOBIAS LEAR.

German Town, 8th Novr. 1793.

My dear Sir

I arrived at this place at the time appointed—to wit—the 1st inst., but did not receive your letter of the 3d until yesterday for want of a regulr. comn. with the P. Office this too at a time when as you have well supposed I was immersed in the consideration of Papers from the different Departments after a seperation from the heads of them almost two Mo.

I have, however, run over your observations on the Potomac Navigation &c. &c.—and in a hasty manner, as I went along, at the first reading, made the notes & remarks which are returned with one of the copies.—The statements made by you, in all other respects, accord with my ideas of facts as far as a recepn. of them will enable me to pronounce; not can I controvert by evidence even those which it would seem that I had queried by my remarks.—Had I more leisure and especially if I could have recourse to my papers I might have been more correct in some things but as the 10th is the day appointed for your sailing & that happening to be on a Sunday a chosen day by sailors for commencing their nautical movements I did not incline to miss the Post of this day to return your observations and to furnish the letters you have asked for.—

It gives me sincere pleasure to hear that Lincoln continues well as I am sure it will do the family at Mount Vernon who must remain there until it is

known what Congress will do; for till then I move more like a snail with everything on my back.

I do not *yet* know whether I shall get a substitute for William: nothing short of excellent qualities & a man of good appearance, would induce me to do it.—and under my present view of the matter too, who would employ himself otherwise than William did—that is as a Butler as well as a Valette for my wants of the latter are so trifling that any man (as Willm. was) would soon be ruined by idleness who had only them to attend to.—Having given these ideas—if your time will permit—I should be glad if you would touch the man upon the strings I have mentioned—probe his character deeper—say what his age appearance & Country is—what are his expectations & how he should be communicated with, if, upon a thorough investigation of matters you should be of opinion he would answer my purposes in all for Kennedy is too little acquainted with the arrangements of a Table, & too stupid for a Butler, to be continued if I could get a better.

I once more, & I suppose for the last time before you sail, bid you adieu;—My best wishes wherever you go accompany you, for with much truth I am

Your sincere friend &
Affecte. Servant
Go: Washington.

WASHINGTON TO THE EARL OF BUCHAN.

My Lord,

Mr. Lear, the Gentleman who will have the honor

King of Prussia Tavern

of putting th[illegible]
therefore shall take [illegible]
your Lordship's [illegible]
years in my family [illegible]
esses a large share [illegible]
mercial pursuits have [illegible]
to visit some of the [illegible]
carries him first to that C[illegible]
to pay his respects to [illegible]
knows I have been [illegible]
apology for recommen[illegible]
cially as it will [illegible]
of the best este[illegible]
honor to be,—

[illegible]

German Town in [illegible]
the State of Pennsyl[illegible]
8 November 179[illegible]

WASHINGTON [illegible]

Sir,

Mr. Lear who will h[illegible]
this letter to you has li[illegible]
and is one for whom I h[illegible]

Having lately engage[illegible]
he [illegible] Europe for the [illegible]
being [illegible] some [illegible]
facturing [illegible] land I take [illegible]
ing him this [illegible] troduction to [illegible]

King of Prussia Tavern

of putting this letter into your hands, I can venture & therefore shall take the liberty, to introduce as worthy of your Lordship's civilities.—he has lived seven or eight years in my family as my private Secretary, and possesses a large share of my esteem & Friendship.—Commercial pursuits have taken him to Europe & a desire to visit some of the manufacturing towns on Scotland carries him first to that Country.—A wish while there to pay his respects to your Lordship, with whom he knows I have been in correspondence, must be my apology for recommending him to your notice especially as it will afford me a fresh occasion to assure you of the best esteem & respect with which I have the honor to be.—

Your Lordships

Most Obedt. & very Hble. Sert.

Go. Washington.

German Town in
the State of Pennsyla.
8 November 1793

WASHINGTON TO SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR.

Sir,

Mr. Lear who will have the honor of presenting this letter to you has lived many years in my family and is one for whom I have a particular esteem.—

Having lately engaged in a Commercial Scheme he goes to Europe for the facility of his plans and being desirous of visiting some of the principle manufacturing towns in Scotland I take the liberty of giving him this letter of introduction to you being per-

suaded he would be greateful for any information he should receive from you in any matter relative to this business.—

You will find him intelligent, and well disposed I am sure (as far as he has knowledge) to answer any enquiry of yours respecting the Situation of things in this Country.—

With great respect
I have the honor to be
Sir—Yr Most Obt. Hble. Sert.
Go. Washington.

German Town in
the State of Pennsyla.
8. November 1793.

TOBIAS LEAR TO WASHINGTON.

New York November 9th: 1793.

My dear Sir,

A thousand times after my letter to you, enclosing Observations on the Potomack &c. had gone, did I wish to recall it: for the more I reflected on your situation at this moment, in point of business, the more did I see the impropriety, as well as the unfriendliness of my adding to that burthen, which I could not but know was at least as great as it ought to be, and more especially as mine was a business in which the public was not interested.—I have been ever since distressed on that account.—And the good letter with which I have been this day honored from you, has not removed my uneasiness on that score; altho' it is to me another proof of that attention towards me which has already

made too deep an impression on my mind for time or any event to erase.—I say it did not remove my uneasiness; because I was convinced by it and the notes & letters accompanying it, that it must have taken up more of your time than I had, upon any grounds, a right to ask for at this busy moment.—My thanks & gratitude, my very dear & honored Sir, are too small to offer for all your goodness to me: But they are all I have that can be acceptable to you.—

I have seen Mr. Robertson, who took your portrait for the Earl of Buchan, and he tells me that he sent it to his Lordship; by way of Glascow, more than six months since; but he had never heard whether it got to hand or not—and says he is much distressed to learn that the Earl had not received it when his letter to you was written—and that he shall not rest until he has ascertained its fate.—

I have got all the information of & about the man whom I mentioned in my last, that time and circumstances have permitted me to do.—He is a tolerably well sized & well made man of about 5 feet 8 or 9 inches—and about 30 years of age—a German by birth—speaks the French language well—dresses Ladies, & Gentlemen's hair very well.—The Account which he gives of himself is—that he lived for upwards of four years with Lord Barrymore as his Valet de Chambre and accasionally acted as his Steward.—Finding that the Expenses to which Lord B. was subject from his stile of living & other extravagances would not allow him to pay his domestics so regularly

as their necessities required, he thought best to quit him; and as a Mr Cox, who had superintended the building a Theatre for Lord Barrymore, was about to come to Philadelphia for the purpose of attending the building the new Theatre there, he thought it a good opportunity of trying his fortune in this Country—and was, after he got to Philadelphia, fixed upon as a suitable person to keep the Coffee rooms in the New Theatre; but the use of that Theatre having been postponed—he found it necessary to resort to other means for a living—and followed the business of hair dressing there for some months, 'till Mr. Hyde came to this place to keep the Tontine Coffee House when he came here with him & has been since the hair dresser of the Coffee House.—He says he understands the duties of a Butler well—and can set out a table in as handsome a manner as any man: But he is not acquainted with marketing or provididg for a family—He would prefer acting as Valet & Butler to having the duty of one only.—He would not undertake the business for less than *two hundred & fifty dollars* per year.—Thus far the man says of & for himself.—His price I tell him puts him out of the question; if everything else should answer.—

Mr Hyde seems to be the only person who knows anything particular about the man here.—He says he is a sober, steady, neat man—He has lived in the Coffee House ever since Hyde has kept it—Hyde says he thinks the man capable of doing those things which he professes—and from his own knowledge of

the kind of person who would be serviceable & agreeable to you, Hyde says he could venture to recommend this man.—

The foregoing is all I can collect respecting Jacob Baur & therefrom it must be left with you, my dear Sir, to decide.—Should you think anything further of him, Mr. Hyde seems to be the only person capable of giving information here.—

Tomorrow, wind & weather permitting, I shall sail and let me visit whatever clime I may—or let whatever will be my situation I shall never fail, my dear & honored Sir, to implore the best of Heaven's blessings for your health & happiness—I feel more for your goodness towards me than I ever or ought to express to you—Accept everything that a grateful heart can give & present me, if you please, in the most respectful & dutiful manner to Mrs Washington—

With truth & sincerity, I always shall be
Your devoted & affectionate friend & servant
Tobias Lear.

The President of the United States.—

JACOB DURANY TO WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, Novr. 9th. 1793

Sir

Being informed that your Excellency was desirous to employ a Person, who could Shave, dress Hair, and otherwise wait upon you, in your Chamber, I have Presumed, to Address you upon that Subject, I Conceive myself, Sir, Competant to such duty, and I trust, that I should be happy, in giving full Satisfaction was

I to be favored with the Station, I therefore Present myself with *hope* for that Purpose

With Respect to my Moral Character, I have Nothing to fear, and if it shall appear to you, that I am a Man who may Answer the Purpose, I have it in my Power, to produce Recommendations from Gentlemen of the first Respectability in the City of Philadelphia,

I am a Married Man, by birth a German, Can speak English & French, so as to Understand,—

I would wish to be,
Sir, at your Command
Jacob Durany

To
The President of the United States

RICHARD CHICHESTER TO WASHINGTON.

Newington 10th. November 1793.

Hono. & very Dear Sir

I've to Apolgise for this intrusion on Your time, with an Address of so Trivial a Nature—And make No Doubt of Your Excuse, when You hear of my Afflicted Situation—I am and have been for Near three Years last Past, in So low a State of health, almost daily Expecting the Dissolution of my body, and cannot Depart in Peace without endeavouring to undeceive You, and Acquit myself of the charge of Misdemeanor against Your Property, of which I'm entirely innocent: And ever did most cordially Despise every Appearance of Meaness—

Throught the Medium of Colo. Burgess Ball, I've lately understood that you have been informed, that I was the Person who kill'd your Tame Deer (a large black buck) about Two or three years ago, which hath wounded my feelings beyond expression, for you to Possess such an Idea of my Principles—I Therefore take the Liberty to Assure You of my Inocence of the charge, and Declare most solemnly in the Presence of the Searcher of all hearts, before Whom I'm in daily expectation of being summoned to Render An Acct. of the Deeds done in the body, that I never even Saw a Deer of that Description Since my Existence in the World, Nor Did I ever directly or Indirectly, to my knowledge, Injure my Neighbour, or any Person Whatever, in And Such like Respect—Truly I should View any Person to that conduct, in the light of a thief and a Rober: The colour of such a Deer would ever be a Sure Defence against a Shott from myself or any of my family—

A certain Charles Dodson, a Tenant on Ravensworth, was the Person that kill'd your black buck, at least he told me himself that he kill'd a large Deer of that Colour Just about the time I heard of the Loss of Yours—It was without doubt Judg'd by the Neighbourhood, and himself, to be Your Deer, as the Colour prov'd him Not a Native of this Country, And we All had heard of your Receiving Such Deer—

As soon as I Recd. Mr. Dodsons Information as Above, I gave Major George Washington a State of the case in Writing and did not suppose there was A

Person in the World capable of giving you such an Information Against me, without Any foundation—However, my trust is, that your Acquaintance with my General Character for almost Thirty Years last Past, Will induce you to give credit to my Solemn Declaration of Inocence at this late Period of my life —Which will Add much to the Satisfaction and Peace of Mind of One Who ever did, and I hope ever shall during life, Revere Your Name And Person, As a fellow Citizen, And An Instrument in the hand of Divine Providence in Establishing the happy Independence of America—

Tho' I never expect the happiness of seeing you again on the Stage of Action, Your Prosperity and happiness in time and through Eternity will ever be Remember'd at the throne of Grace by

Dr. Sir Yr. Most Obt. & very H. Servant
Richard Chichester

RICHARD SNOWDON TO WASHINGTON.

The Author of the enclosed Volume* presents it to the Worthy President of the United States as a Small

*This was a curious book, called the *American Revolution; Written in the Style of Ancient History*. It is arranged in chapters and verses and written in the language of the Scriptures. Washington is referred to in it as "George the Chief Captain." The first volume was published by Jones, Hoff & Derrick, of Philadelphia, and was manufactured right in the midst of the yellow fever, as the preface is dated "Newton, Gloucester County, in the State of New Jersey, September 17, 1793." The second volume was issued the following year. The book seems to have enjoyed popularity, as several later editions were published.

Tribute of that affectionate esteem which he with many thousands bear for his Person whose merit both as a Hero and Citizen hath captivated the feeling Heart that thrills with exalted pleasure at the loved name of Washington. As the Author is one of the People called Quakers he cannot consistent with his profession make use of a Style that custom hath established in what is called the Polite World shall therefore confine himself to the feeling Language of the Heart and that mode of expression which he hath been educated in And notwithstanding Providence hath placed him in the humble Walks of Life he is firmly persuaded that like the Widows Mite it will be no less acceptable on that account and shall now take the Liberty to conclude this address in the Words of Dr. Young as they accord with the Sentiments of his own heart Viz

"Farewel (thro' boundless ages fare thee well!)
"The dignity of Man and blessing of Heaven be
"with thee!" The broad Hand of the Almighty cover
"thee! Mayst thou Shine when the Sun is extinct
"Mayst thou live and triumph when time Expires"

is the ardent wish of
of thy sincere friend and admirer
Richard Snowdon

Newton Gloucester
State of New Jersey
Novbr. 13th. 93.

HENRY KNOX TO WASHINGTON.

Falls of Schuylkill 16 Nov 1793

Sir

I have the honor to submit two letters of Major Genl Wayne one dated the 17th of Septr and the other the 5th of October with a variety of enclosures, including the proceedings of the Court Martial upon Ensign Morgan.

In addition to the information contained in these papers, I am informed that the late Dr Jennifer who was cashiered, arrived at Pittsburg from Head quarters who says that General Scott arrived at Fort Washington on the 7th Octr a few hours after Genl Wayne had marched, with nearly six hundred mounted volunteers, and that as many more were expected hourly.

I have the honor to
be with the highest respect
Sir your obedient Servt

The President
of the U S.

Knox

BURGESS BALL TO WASHINGTON.

Leesburg—16th. Nov. 93.

Dear Sir,

We have been here about ten days, and are now tollarably fixd.—

I have been making Enquiry about Buck Wheat, and have given notice that I will give 2/ ℔ Bush: (a Price the Merchts: told me I might purchase for) but, from the Scarcity of Corn, which now sells @ 12/ ℔

A. W. Elson & Co. Boston

Spencer's

Northeast corner of Church Lane and Dunton Street

Spencers

Northeast corner of Church Lane and Lancaster Road

Barrell, I fear I shall not be able to get the Buck Wheat for less than 2/6—For the Price I'm sure I can get any quantity in a very short time, and if I can get it @ 2/ I shall be very glad—My Mill has taken in but very few Bushells—If you are willing I should give 2/6, or whatever Price, or quantity you may think proper, I shall be happy in executing your directions —if you'll send me on Bank notes, I will negotiate them here, and, if they shou'd not be made use of, they shall be returned. Please write me as soon as convenient.

I am happy to hear that Philada. is almost reliev'd from the Misfortune it has so long been afflicted with —I hope you run no risque.—Wishing you every felicity, I am

with the highest Esteem
Dr. Sir
Yr. mo: Ob Sert
B: Ball

PS. My Wife & Miss Milly (who is with us) desire their respects &c.
B:B

WASHINGTON TO NICHOLAS LEWIS.

To Nicholas Lewis Esqr. Chairman of an meeting of the Inhabitants of Albemarle County, Virginia.—

Germantown 16 Novemr. 1793.

Sir,

While I acknowledge that all power is derived from the People, and that the Federal Government has been

instituted for their happiness, I cannot but unite in the attachment expressed by the freemen of Albemarle to the Constitution of the U States. Harmony with foreign Nations is a blessing which we ought to prize & to cherish; & from a desire of cultivating it the proclamation was issued. Such a measure became the more eligible, as it neither cancelled nor weakened our obligations to the French Nation.—

Go. Washington.

WASHINGTON TO EDWARD STEVENS.

To Edward Stevens Esqr. Chairman of a Meeting of the yeomanry of Culpeper County, Virginia.—

Germantown 16. Novemr. 1793

Sir,

The resolutions of the yeomanry of Culpeper, announcing their determination to resist all attempts to destroy the federal Government, or violate its principles, bespeak a laudable interest in the national prosperity. Among the means of accomplishing the general happiness, peace with all nations is an obvious policy.—It is our duty too to remember the services of the French Nation, & to pursue the Republican spirit of our Constitution.

In whatever degree I may be conceived to have contributed to the public welfare, it is very acceptable to me to know that my conduct is approved by the yeomanry of Culpeper.—

Go. Washington.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO WASHINGTON.

The President of the United States.

Treasury Deparmt. 18. 1793.

The Secretary of the Treasury respectfully submits to the consideration of the President of the United States, a communication from the Commissioner of the Revenue of the 6th instant, transmitting two proposals respecting the masons work for repairing the Tyber Lighthouse in Georgia.

From the measures, which have been taken, it appears improbable that better terms are obtainable, and from such means as are possessed, of judging, there is no reason to conclude that they are not reasonable. Under these circumstances, and considering the distance, it is submitted, as the opinion of the Secy. expedient to close with the proposal of John Armour.

A. Hamilton.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO WASHINGTON.

The President of the United States.

Treasury Departmt. Novr. 19. 1793.

The Secretary of the Treasury respectfully submits to the consideration of the President of the United States a letter from the Commissioner of the Revenue of the 15 instant, transmitting two proposals respecting the carpenters work of the Tyber Lighthouse in Georgia.

The Secretary agrees in sentiment with the Commissioner of the Revenue that it is for the interest of the United States to close with the second proposal of Adrianas van Denne. A. Hamilton.

WASHINGTON TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

22d. Novr. 1793.

Dear Sir,

I think Colo. Humphreys, in one of his letters to you, refers to his to me, for some article of News.—I see nothing therein that we have had not had before; but send it nevertheless, for your perusal.—

Can any thing be said, or done, respecting the Marquis de la Fayette? *—I send the letter that you may give it another perusal.—I send a letter also from a French Gentleman in New York offering his Services as Engineer &c.—We may want such characters!—A civil answer therefore may not be amiss to give him, although he cannot be employed *now*, nor never indeed [unless] he is well qualified.—

Are resignations deposited in the Office of State?—If they are I send one just received.—

Yours always

Mr. Jefferson. G: Washington

WASHINGTON TO RICHARD CHICHESTER.

Dear Sir,

On the 21st instant, I was favored with your letter of the 10th.—

I am very sorry that so trivial a matter as that related in it, should have given you one moments pain.—There must have been some misconception on the part of Colo. Burgess Ball if he understood that I had been informed it was you, who had killed my English

* Then a prisoner of the Austrians in the citadel of Olmütz.

Buck; for no such information that I can recollect ever was given to me.—I had heard before the receipt of your letter but how, is more like a dream than reality, that that particular Deer was killed on Ravensworth.—Nor did I ever suppose that you would have been so unneighbourly as to kill any of my Deer knowing them to be such; but as they had broke out the Paddock in which they had been confined and were going at large—and besides consisted as well of Country as English Deer—I wished to protect them as much as I was able and upon that principle, and that alone, declined giving the permission you asked to hunt some of my woods adjoining to yours—knowing that they did not confine themselves within my exterior fences—& moreover that, when Hounds are in pursuit, no person could distinguish them from the wild Deer of the Forest.—I thank you for your kind wishes—& am sorry to hear you are in such bad health yourself & sincerely wish you may be restored to that which is good—My compliments to your Lady & Mrs. McCarty &

I am yours &c.

German Town Go. Washington
23d November 1793.

HENRY KNOX TO WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia 22 Nov 1793

Sir

General Stewart declines the office of Inspector He says he would have done the same by the naval

office, and that he was induced to make the application to please his father in Law; but that he intended this day to have come to me to withdraw it, as his commercial prospects are exceedingly Good—At the same time he is grateful of the offer.

I submit a letter from Ensign John Morgan being another specimen of his indecorum. In this he objects to the proceedings of the Court Martial which have been received, as not being "the original proceedings" of the Court. I submit this letter to-day in order that if you should judge proper that the validity of those objections may be considered tomorrow.

I have the honor to be
Sir with the highest
respect

The President
of the U S.

Your humble Servt
Knox

WASHINGTON TO ALEXANDER WHITE.

To Alexander White Esqr. Chairman of a Meeting of the Inhabitants of Frederick County, Virginia.—

Germantown 23d Novemr. '93.

Sir,

The advantages which result from a state of peace & amity (preserved upon respectable conditions) with all nations—and particularly when applied to our Country, yet in its infancy, are too striking to need elucidation; & such as must be obvious to the least accurate enquiry into the subject.—

To secure these advantages to the United States, it was thought expedient to pursue friendly & impartial conduct toward the belligerent powers; & with a view to this object, and to the advancement of the prosperity of these States, the Proclamation declaring the actual state of things was thought right & accordingly issued—and I am pleased to find the measure approved by the enlightened Citizens of Frederick County.

I cherish a grateful recollection of the distinguished services rendered to our Country by the French Nation, & unite my wishes to those of my Fellow Citizens of Frederick, that it may establish a Government for itself upon those principles, which are best calculated to make it happy.—

If in the discharge of the duties attendant on the trust committed to me by my Fellow Citizens, my conduct should meet their approbation, it will be my highest glory—& I am happy to have it approved by the Citizens of Frederick County.—

Go. Washington.

WASHINGTON TO BURGESS BALL.*

German Town 24th Novr 1793

Dear Sir,

I have duly received your letter of the 16th Instant from Leesburg.—

In answer to which, respecting the purchase of Buckwheat, I send you a Bank note for two hundred

* From the original in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A fac-simile of this letter is shown on another page.

Dollars; being more disposed to give two & sixpence pr. Bushel in Loundoun than depend upon the purchase here, and the uncertainty of getting it round, in time.—What the waggonage of it to my house from thence (as fast as it is bought, for that I make a condition in order that no disappointment may happen) will be I know not; but in order to place the matter upon an absolute certainty I had rather give three and sixpence for it, delivered at Mount Vernon, than encounter delay, or trust to contingencies; because, as it forms part of my system of Husbandry for the next year, a derangement of it would be a serious thing; for which reason, a small difference in the price can be no object when placed against the disconcertion of my plans— especially too as I am persuaded you will purchase & transport for me on the best terms you can.—

Four hundred & fifty bushels, or call it five hundred, is the quantity I shall want; & more money shall be sent to you as soon as I know your prospects, and the expenditures of what is now forwarded.—For the reasons I have already assigned, I must meet with no disappointment; if therefore your prospects (as you advance in this business) are not equal to your expectation inform me of it in time that I may supply myself from hence before the frost sets in.—

The malady with which Philadelphia has been sorely afflicted, has, it is said entirely ceased;—and all the Citizens are returning to their old habitations again.—I took a house in this Town on my first arrival, and shall

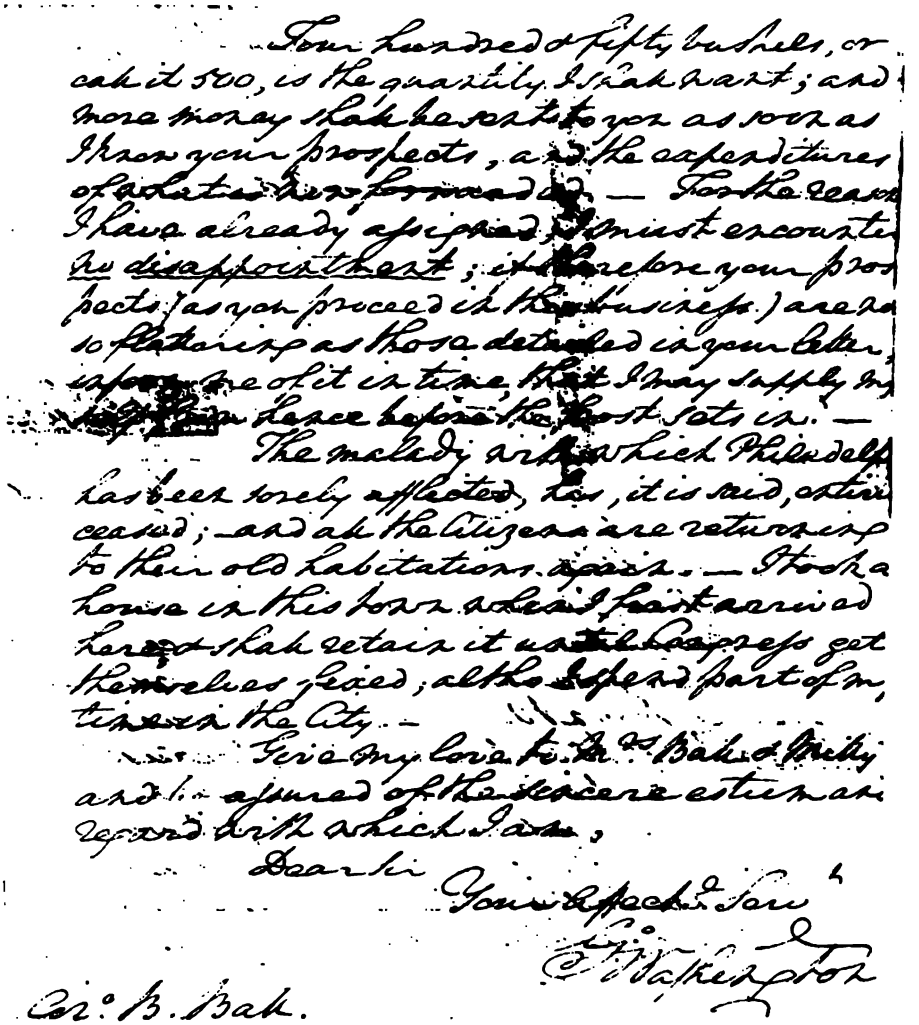
German Town 24th Novr. 1793.

Dear Sir,

I have duly received your letter of the 16th Instant, from Leesburgh. —

In answer to which, respecting the purchase of Buck Wheat, I send you a Bank note for two hundred dollars; being more disposed to give two & six pence pr. Bushel in Loudoun than depend upon the purchase here, & the [illegible] certainty of getting it round in time. — What the Waggonage of it to my house from thence (as fast as it is bought, for that I make a condition, in order that no disappointment may happen) will be, I know not; but with a view to place the matter upon an absolute certainty I had rather give three & six pence for it, delivered at Mount Vernon, than encounter delay, or trust to contingencies; because, as it forms part of my system of Husbandry for the next year, a derangement of it would be a serious thing; for which reason, a small difference in the price can be no object when placed against the disconcertion of my plans; especially too, as I am persuaded you will purchase, & transport the B. Wh. for me on the best terms you can.

WASHINGTON TO COLONEL BURGESS BALL
GERMANTOWN, NOVEMBER 24TH, 1793



Four hundred & fifty bushels, or
cak it 500, is the quantity I shak want; and
more money shak be sent to you as soon as
I know your prospects, and the expenditures
of what is now forwarded. — For the reason
I have already assigned, I must encounter
no disappointment; if therefore your pros-
pects (as you proceed in the business) are not
so flattering as those detailed in your letter,
inform me of it in time, that I may supply my
[illegible] hence before the frost sets in. —
The malady with which Philadelphia
has been sorely afflicted, has, it is said, entirely
ceased; — and ak the Citizens are returning
to their old habitations again. — I took a
house in this town when I first arrived
here & shak retain it until Congress get
themselves fixed; altho I spend part of my
time in the City. —
Give my love to Mrs. Bak & Milly
and be assured of the sincere esteem and
regard with which I am,
Dear Sir
Your Affectd. Servt.
Geo. Washington

Corº. B. Bak.

Fac-simile of Letter in the Possession of the
Historical Society of Pennsylvania

not give it up until Congress get themselves fixed, altho' I spend part of my time in the City.—

Give my love to Mrs. Ball & Milly, and be assured of the sincere esteem & regard with which I am

Dr. Sir Yours &c.

Go. Washington.

JOHN ARMSTRONG TO WASHINGTON.

Carlisle 25th. Novr. 1793—

Honored Dear Sir

Please to accept my sincere Congratulations on the reputed state of your good health & safe return to our Afflicted Capitol, or the invirons thereof.

The design of this letter which ought to have been much sooner addressed, is to tender my Cordial thanks & acknowledgements of your Excellencys friendly remembrance of my son in the appointment proposed to him—of which thro' an accidental delay in his correspondence I knew nothing until a short time before your last setting out to Mount Vernon. his non-acceptance I find gave him some pain for certain reasons distinct from the change of his residence to that of New York, which he thinks would not correspond to his circumstances in life; and which I hope he may in some degree have explain'd in the acknowledgments incumbent upon him. It has been amongst my wishes for and advices to him, to keep a constant eye to the common dictates of providence, seeking resignation in such station as most naturally presented itself however private it might be, and I trust he has in a good de-

gree begun to see the propriety thereof, and the sovereign disposal of men & things which this world presents to the observation of every day!—his elder brother who never looked for anything out of the sphere of his own profession, and which former bad health had even obliged him to lay aside, is now called forth to deliberations of a very important kind for which he hath few possitive qualifications beyond the native simplity and firmness of his mind, yet such is the course of human conduct.

In regard to our Western Affairs, a Solemn Silence at present prevails—if Genl. Wayne has carried out 3000 effectives, from the consideration of more discipline & better appointments, there is much to hope he has reach'd the Villages near the begining of this month. If a general action should take place it is not likely to be Obstinate, as the Novelty joined to the terror of the Horse has a tendency at once to intimidate & discomfit the Enemy, who in my Opinion have no rational motive at all for a general engagement except their numbers far exeeed our computation; their present estimation of their own Superiority at Arms may prove a Stimulus to produce a general battle, but if they persist (the circumstances of light & ground being favourable) the Stimulus I hope will prove a Snare to these inflated men.

Publick prayers have been Offered in these parts for the Success of our little Army—the preservation of our Country & the Capitol of this State from wasteing & contagious diseases—and the Governor I see has

recommended another day of the like Service which may be more generally attended to—this to be sure is both laudible & highly expedient, but pity it is where the holy Bible may be so easily consulted that this devout prescription should appear to be wanting in a Capital Article—as of the merits & intercession of Jesus Christ, the proclamation sayeth nothing! without a special respect thereto (if revelation be true) the other good things mentioned therein can avail nothing —but the people we hope will make this necessary Supplement.

The late afflictive Visitation of God to the inhabitants of Philadelphia is truly alarming & ought to awaken not only the Reflexion of Pennsylvania, but of every State in the Union—nor is the limittaion of the infection to that spot (as is generally reported) less extraordinary, from which we are not unnaturally led to Augur some good to this country—happy however at the present in hearing not only of a gradual Abatement of the malignant disease for more than a month past, but now of it's total Abolition.

I should but improperly offer to touch the publick difficulties of the present moment and can only express my earnest wishes that together with the country where you preside you may be safely carried through the political intricacies that either now or hereafter may fall in the way—You were Sir, I firmly believe providentially called to this Checkered task, and in a diligent attention not only to your Official, but Christian duty, have cause to be of good Courage, not because of an

imperfect discharge of these duties, but because the Lord reigns & will do all his pleasure, who can carry you through this maze of things, with honor and dignity to the end. ci

And this dear Sir in the simplity of truth
is the habitual desire of your frail
but invariable friend
John Armstrong

Genl. Washington
President of the United States.

BARTHOLOMEW DANDRIDGE TO HAMILTON.

The Secretary of the Treasury.

Germantown 26 Novr. 1793.

Sir,

By the President's command I have the honor to enclose herewith two proposals made for repairing the masons work of the Tyber Lighthouse, & the letter of the Commr. of the Revenue which accompanied them. Also two proposals for doing the woodwork of said Lighthouse, with the Commr. of the Revenue's letter accompanying them—and to inform you that the President thinks it proper that the proposal of John Armour for doing the masons work, and that of Adrianas Van Denne for doing the wood work, with the *plain stair case*, should be accepted.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your mo. obt. Servt.
B. Dandridge.
S. P. US.

BARTHOLOMEW DANDRIDGE TO HENRY KNOX.

26. Nov: 93.

By the President's order B. Dandridge has the honor to enclose herewith a letter just recd. from the Govr. of New York, with his correspondence with Mr. Genet respecting the Carmagnole. The President desires you will take them into consideration, & prepare such answer to the Govrs letter as to you may seem proper.

B. D——ge.

The Secy of War—

HENRY KNOX TO WASHINGTON.

November 26th 1793

Sir

I have the honor to submit to you, a copy of a letter transmitted this day to the Governor of New York, and which is in pursuance of the rules heretofore adopted—Colonel Hamilton was present and approved of it, and it does not appear that any other answer can be given to the Governor's letter of the 24th, than to acknowledge the same, and adhere to the letter of to day.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
with the highest respect,
Your most obedt Servt
Knox

The President of the United States.

HENRY KNOX TO WASHINGTON.

War Department
Nov. 29. 1793

Sir

I know not what dependence to place upon the second paragraph of the following intelligence just received from Major Craig, dated Pittsburg 22d November, but it is my duty to communicate it—

"By accounts from Kentucky, it appears that the army was on the 18th of October six miles advanced of Fort Jefferson—and that a small party escorting either Forage or Commissary stores, commanded by Lieut. Lowry, had been attacked—Lieut. Lowry killed, and the party defeated"—

"By account this moment arrived via of Niagara, and Genesee, it appears that our army has had a general engagement with the enemy, and has obtained a complete victory"—

I am
Sir
with great respect
Your obedt servt

The President of the United States. Knox.

WILLIAM THORNTON TO WASHINGTON.

Sir

I have lately been informed that your Secretary, Mr. Lear, has taken his departure for England, on private Business, and as I imagine the multiplicity of your Engagements, and the extent of your Correspondence will require a Substitute I take the liberty

of tendering my Services; yet with a degree of hesitation mixed with Confidence. I hesitate, lest my Abilities may not be equal to all that might be requisite; but I should rest much Confidence in my Endeavours to render Satisfaction, and to prove myself worthy of the Trust reposed in me. While, however, I solicit this Trust I cannot be ignorant of a Circumstance that might operate to my disadvantage. My Situation in Life has precluded me from the honor of being but very partially known to you, and I must request a reference to one of my Friends. I had the pleasure of residing for some years in the same House with Mr. Madison, to whom I should with much Satisfaction submit my Reputation.

I am well aware, Sir, that numerous Applications are made to you upon Occasions of this sort, and I reluctantly trouble you with this, but my desire to dedicate my time to you and my Country, would not permit me to be silent. Whatever may be your Determination in this Instance it cannot lessen my wish to serve you to the utmost of my power, nor affect the sincerity

with which I have the honor
of declaring myself
your respectful, and
Wilmington (Delaware) affectionate Friend &c.
November 29th: 1793. William Thornton

CHAPTER XII

Congress Meets

THE subsidence of the fever by the middle of November was so generally understood that it does not appear that any number of the members of Congress gathered at Germantown before the date of meeting.

On November 20th John Beckley, the clerk of the House of Representatives, writing to James Madison, gives this picture of the city's affairs:

Philadelphia, 20th November 1793*

Dear Sir,

I drop a line to inform you, that I returned to this place with all my family, on Saturday last, and that there is now as perfect safety from contagion of any kind as was ever known here;—there is not known a single case of the yellow fever in the City or its Suburbs; the Citizens have returned almost universally, the public Offices are all opened, as well as all the public & private Seminaries, business of every kind is resumed, the markets as fully attended & supplied as ever, and in short no vestige of the late calamity re-

* Hitherto unpublished. Archives of the Library of Congress.

maining except in the mournful remembrance of those whose friends & relatives have fallen victims to it.— Doctor Rush, assured me last evening that a greater degree of health had never prevailed in this City than at present.—A general fumigation of houses, apparel, bedding &c. has taken place by order of the Corporation, and the lodging houses *in particular* will be as safe as ever, or perhaps the safest of any from their peculiar purifications &c.—I mention these things & hope this may meet yo. at Fredericksburg, that yo. may rely on my assurance that there is not the smallest possible danger of proceeding immediately into the City, and that as far as this short notice may enable yo. to do so, it may be communicated to others of the Southern Members, as I find great pains has been taken to bring on the Eastern & Pennsylva. Members to decide the choice of a Speaker &c.—

With great regard, I am,
Dear Sir,
Yr. Mo. obedt. Servant,
John Beckley.

R. R. Lee is arrived.

Jefferson went into Philadelphia on the 29th, having had satisfactory quarters offered him. It seems likely that Washington and other officers of the Government moved in on that date or the day following, although the

President had several times been into the city during the latter part of the month.

The increasing feeling between the two political parties, involving the contest for Speaker of the House, was not alone in drawing members to be punctual in attendance at the opening session. The knowledge that the stirring events which had transpired since its adjournment must necessarily be laid before Congress, and that important legislation would be required to meet them, caused a quorum of both houses to be present at the opening session, despite the general alarm which had existed among the members of both houses.

Congress met on Monday, December 2d, and as usual a joint committee waited on the President and informed him that they were ready to receive his communications. On the following day both houses having assembled in the Senate chamber, Washington arrived, accompanied by the members of his Cabinet, and in the presence of a large assemblage, which included the foreign representatives and many citizens, read the speech the preparation of which, in Germantown, we have followed in the previous chapters.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Since the commencement of the term for which I have been again called into office, no fit occasion has arisen for expressing to my fellow-citizens at large, the deep and respectful sense, which I feel, of the renewed testimony of public approbation. While, on the other hand, it awakened my gratitude for all those instances of affectionate partiality, with which I have been honored by my country; on the other hand, it could not prevent an earnest wish for that retirement, from which no private consideration should ever have torn me. But influenced by the belief, that my conduct would be estimated according to its real motives, and that the people, and the authorities derived from them, would support exertions having nothing personal for their object, I have obeyed the suffrage, which commended me to resume the executive power; and I humbly implore that Being, on whose will the fate of nations depends, to crown with success our mutual endeavors for the general happiness.*

* Charles James Fox, in a long address, at the opening of the session of Parliament, January 21st, 1794, pronounced an eulogium on the character of Washington, and in particular commended the spirit and principles set forth in the President's speech at the opening of Congress. He said in part: "Feeling gratitude to France for the assistance received from her in that great contest which secured the independence of America, he did not choose to give up the system of neutrality. Having once laid down that line of conduct, which both gratitude and policy pointed out as most proper to be pursued, not all the insults or provocation of the French minister, Genet, could turn him from his purpose."

As soon as the war in Europe had embraced those powers, with whom the United States have the most extensive relations, there was reason to apprehend, that our intercourse with them might be interrupted, and our disposition for peace drawn into question, by the suspicions too often entertained by belligerent nations. It seemed, therefore, to be my duty to admonish our citizens of the consequences of a contraband trade, and of hostile acts to any of the parties; and to obtain, by a declaration of the existing legal state of things, an easier admission of our right to the immunities belonging to our situation. Under these impressions, the Proclamation, which will be laid before you, was issued.

In this posture of affairs, both new and delicate, I resolved to adopt general rules, which should conform to the treaties and assert the privileges of the United States. These were reduced into a system, which will be communicated to you. Although I have not thought myself at liberty to forbid the sale of the prizes, permitted by our treaty of commerce with France to be brought into our ports, I have not refused to cause them to be restored, when they were taken within the protection of our territory, or by vessels commissioned or equipped in a warlike form within the limits of the United States.

It rests with the wisdom of Congress to correct, improve, or enforce this plan of procedure; and it will probably be found expedient to extend the legal code, and the jurisdiction of the courts of the United

States, to many cases, which, though dependent on principles already recognised, demand some further provisions.

Where individuals shall within the United States array themselves in hostility against any of the powers at war; or enter upon military expeditions or enterprises within the jurisdiction of the United States; or usurp and exercise judicial authority within the United States; or where the penalties on violations of the law of nations may have been indistinctly marked, or are inadequate; these offences cannot receive too early and close an attention, and require prompt and decisive remedies.

Whatsoever those remedies may be, they will be well administered by the judiciary, who possess a long-established course of investigation, effectual process, and officers in the habit of executing it. In like manner, as several of the courts have doubted, under particular circumstances, their power to liberate vessels of a nation at peace, and even of a citizen of the United States, although seized under a false color of being hostile property; and have denied their power to liberate certain captures within the protection of our territory; it would seem proper to regulate their jurisdiction in these points. But if the executive is to be the resort in either of the two last-mentioned cases, it is hoped, that he will be authorized by law to have facts ascertained by the courts, when, for his own information, he shall request it.

I cannot recommend to your notice measures for

the fulfilment of our duties to the rest of the world, without again pressing upon you the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition of complete defence, and of exacting from them the fulfilment of their duties towards us. The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion, that, contrary to the order of human events, they will for ever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms, with which the history of every other nation abounds. There is a rank due to the United States among nations, which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known, that we are at all times ready for war.

The documents, which will be presented to you, will show the amount and kinds of arms and military stores now in our magazines and arsenals; and yet an addition even to these supplies cannot with prudence be neglected; as it would leave nothing to the uncertainty of procuring a warlike apparatus in the moment of public danger. Nor can such arrangements, with such objects, be exposed to the censure or jealousy of the warmest friends of republican government. They are incapable of abuse in the hands of the militia, who ought to possess a pride in being the depository of the force of the Republic, and may be trained to a degree of energy equal to every military exigency of the United States. But it is an inquiry, which cannot be too solemnly pursued, whether the act "more ef-

The Farm-yard Gate-way at Spencers
Home of Edmund Randolph 1793

The Farm-yard Gateway at Spencers
Home of Edmund Randolph 1793

fectually to provide for the national defence by establishing a uniform militia throughout the United States," has organized them so as to produce their full effect; whether your own experience in the several States has not detected some imperfections in the scheme; and whether a material feature, in an improvement of it, ought not to be to afford an opportunity for the study of those branches of the military art, which can scarcely ever be attained by practice alone.

The connexion of the United States with Europe has become extremely interesting. The occurrences, which relate to it, and have passed under the knowledge of the executive, will be exhibited to Congress in a subsequent communication.

When we contemplate the war on our frontiers, it may be truly affirmed, that every reasonable effort has been made to adjust the causes of dissension with the Indians north of the Ohio. The instructions given to the commissioners evince a moderation and equity proceeding from a sincere love of peace, and a liberality having no restriction but the essential interests and dignity of the United States. The attempt, however, of an amicable negotiation having been frustrated, the troops have marched to act offensively. Although the proposed treaty did not arrest the progress of military preparation, it is doubtful how far the advance of the season, before good faith justified active movements, may retard them, during the remainder of the year. From the papers and intelligence, which

relate to this important subject, you will determine, whether the deficiency in the number of troops, granted by law, shall be compensated by succors of militia; or additional encouragements shall be proposed to recruits. An anxiety has also been demonstrated by the executive for peace with the Creeks and Cherokees. The former have been relieved with corn and with clothing, and offensive measures against them prohibited, during the recess of Congress. To satisfy the complaints of the latter, prosecutions have been instituted for the violence committed upon them. But the papers, which will be delivered to you, disclose the critical footing on which we stand in regard to both those tribes; and it is with Congress to pronounce what shall be done.

After they shall have provided for the present emergency, it will merit their most serious labors to render tranquillity with the savages permanent by creating ties of interest. Next to a rigorous execution of justice on the violators of peace, the establishment of commerce with the Indian nations on behalf of the United States is most likely to conciliate their attachment. But it ought to be conducted without fraud, without extortion, with constant and plentiful supplies, with a ready market for the commodities of the Indians, and a stated price for what they give in payment, and receive in exchange. Individuals will not pursue such a traffic, unless they be allured by the hope of profit, but it will be enough for the United States to be reimbursed only. Should this recommendation ac-

cord with the opinion of Congress, they will recollect, that it cannot be accomplished by any means yet in the hands of the Executive.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:—

The Commissioners, charged with the settlement of accounts between the United States and individual States, concluded their important functions within the time limited by law; and the balances, struck in their report, which will be laid before Congress, have been placed on the books of the treasury.

On the first day of June last, an instalment of one million florins became payable on the loans of the United States in Holland. This was adjusted by a prolongation of the period of reimbursement, in the nature of a new loan, at interest at five per cent. for the term of ten years: and the expenses of this operation were a commission of three per cent.

The first instalment of a loan of two millions of dollars from the Bank of the United States has been paid, as was directed by law. For the second, it is necessary that provision should be made.

No pecuniary consideration is more urgent than the regular redemption and discharge of the public deb; on none can delay be more injurious, or an economy of time more valuable.

The productiveness of the public revenue hitherto has continued to equal the anticipations which were formed of it; but it is not expected to prove commen-

surate with all the objects, which have been suggested. Some auxiliary provisions will, therefore, it is presumed, be requisite; and it is hoped that these may be made, consistently with a due regard to the convenience of our citizens, who cannot but be sensible of the true wisdom of encountering a small present addition to their contributions to obviate a future accumulation of burdens.

But here I cannot forbear to recommend a repeal of the tax on the transportation of public prints. There is no resource so firm for the government of the United States, as the affections of the people, guided by an enlightened policy; and to this primary good, nothing can conduce more than a faithful representation of public proceedings, diffused without restraint throughout the United States.

An estimate of the appropriations necessary for the current service of the ensuing year, and a statement of a purchase of arms and military stores made during the recess, will be presented to Congress.

Gentlemen of the Senate
and House of Representatives:

The several objects, to which I have now referred, open a wide range to your delibeartions, and involve some of the choicest interests of our common country. Permit me to bring to your remembrance the magnitude of your task. Without an unprejudiced coolness, the welfare of the government may be hazarded; with-

out harmony, as far as consists with freedom of sentiment, its dignity may be lost. But as the legislative proceedings of the United States will never, I trust, be reproached for the want of temper or candor; so shall not the public happiness languish from the want of my strenuous and warmest cooperations.

There is one omission in the President's communications to Congress which one studying the period cannot fail to note, and that is the absence of all reference to the yellow fever and its disastrous consequences to Philadelphia. As a matter of fact, every effort seems to have been made by the city to hush up the matter. There are but few references to it in the local press, and no direct references to it in the early proceedings of Congress.

The following April an act* was passed which definitely gave to the President the powers which he and his advisers were doubtful he had possessed. It empowered him to convene Congress at such a place as he deemed proper, whenever the prevalence of contagious sickness or the existence of

* "You remember the anxieties and alarms among the members of Congress in 1793, their continual regret that no power had existed to convene them elsewhere, and their solicitude to pass an act to provide such an authority in future."
John Adams to Oliver Wolcott, October 20th, 1797.

other circumstances rendered it hazardous to the lives or health of Congress to meet at the place to which they had adjourned.

In 1797 Congress was to assemble on the 13th of November, but on account of the fears of the members a quorum did not gather until some days later. The recurrence of the fever and the inconvenience attending the gathering of Congress at any other place than the seat of government was referred to by President Adams in his opening speech that year, and he suggested that the act passed in 1794 be so amended as to admit of postponing the session beyond the constitutional date. A bill to this effect was introduced later, but failed of passage.

The reappearance of the fever in 1798 caused the suggestion to be made that Congress should provide for the removal of all the offices of government during the summer and early autumn months, whether the city should again be affected or not. It was pointed out that by waiting until the last moment of safety and then removing in hurry and confusion, public papers were lost or deranged, the officers of the government put to great inconvenience and the public service made to suffer. Every private

gentleman who could afford it made his arrangements early in the season for removing his family during the warm months to places which were more healthful than Philadelphia in summer. The government should be as provident in this matter, and in justice to the officers and the public interest should arrange in advance for safe and comfortable quarters elsewhere.*

In both these years, as in 1793, the autumn frosts stopped the ravages of the fever before Congress assembled.

The following letters give a closing picture of affairs in Philadelphia of early December:

LETTER FROM JOHN ADAMS TO MRS. ADAMS.

Philadelphia, 5 December, 1793.†

My Dearest Friend:—

I wrote you from Hartford, New York, and once from Philadelphia; but have not yet had the pleasure of a letter from you since I left home. The night before last we had a deep snow, which will probably extinguish all remaining apprehensions of infection. We hear of no sickness, and all seem at their ease and without fear.

The President's speech will show you an abun-

* Benjamin Stoddert to John Adams, November 23d, 1798.

† From Letters from John Adams to his Wife.

dance of serious business which we have before us. Mr. Jefferson called on me last night, and informed me that to-day we should have the whole budget of foreign affairs, British as well as French. He seems as little satisfied with the conduct of the French minister, as any one. Thomas* spent the last evening with me. He has had an opportunity of seeing the courts, judges, lawyers, &c., of New Jersey, in the course of the last fall, and has, I hope, employed his time to advantage. This day, he is to be examined, and this week, sworn in. May a blessing attend him. Although I have attended and shall attend my duty punctually in senate, I shall not run about upon visits, without caution. Yet I believe there is little or no danger.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOHN F. MERCER.

Philadelphia Dec. 7. 1793.†

Dear Sir

I received yesterday your favor of Nov. 30. and can assure you that the city is understood universally to be entirely clear of infection, not a single person having the yellow fever at this time. and this has been believed to be the case near three weeks. the members of Congress here are entirely without appre-

* Thomas Boylston Adams, son of John Adams. Charles J. Wister is authority for the statement that T. B. Adams spent a portion of the summer of 1793 at the "Rock" house, still standing on Penn street east of the Reading railroad.

† Archives Library of Congress. Heretofore unpublished.

hension. still I have not learned how a stranger may know into what houses he may venture, as not having the disease at all. in fact the members have ventured into both taverns & lodging houses, where they have had it. Francis's hotel near the Indian Queen has never had it, therefore you may safely land there. Mrs. Trist intends to take a small house & a few of her acquaintances. but I believe she has not got a house yet. in the one she formerly occupied, a person died of the fever. but Mr. Giles and Mr. Venable are there, & Stockdon has lived in the very room where the person died for a considerable time. you will have seen the speech & message & therefore I need say nothing of the interesting matters before Congress. my respects to Mrs. Mercer. accept yourself my affectionate regard.

Th: Jefferson

Mr. Mercer.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Summer of 1794.

THE experience of Washington in the Morris house having apparently been satisfactory, he arranged with Col. Isaac Franks to take it for a period of about six weeks in 1794. While ostensibly the object was to escape the heat of the city, there can be no doubt that the fear of a return of the yellow fever had its influence in making a home in the country desirable. On this occasion Mrs. Washington, and her two grandchildren, Eleanor Parke Custis and George Washington Parke Custis, accompanied the President. It will be remembered that Edmund Randolph, writing of the house in 1793, stated that it was poorly furnished. To make it more habitable two loads of furniture were sent from Philadelphia, and on July 30th the family moved out.

The Academy had opened July 1st, in 1794, under the care of Frederick Herman, Washington's host of the year before, and of J. M. Ray, from Edinburgh, lately from Paris. The latter was the author of "*Comprehensive View of Philosophical, Political and Theological*

Systems, from the Creation to the Present Time," and also of the "*Only True Guide to the English Grammar,*" the authorship of which was advertised by the trustees as a drawing card. The curriculum included "French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew and other Oriental languages, the philosophical sciences and all the branches of a common and liberal education, taught on an improved plan, in the most expeditious manner, in a way both scientific and applicable to practice in human life, etc." This advertisement in the "Pennsylvania Gazette" must have appealed to Washington for the young lad, G. W. Parke Custis, was enrolled as a student at the Academy. For many years the recollection of Washington appearing one day at the Academy on horseback and asking "where George Washington Custis was," was treasured by one of Germantown's well-known citizens, and another schoolboy in later life pleasantly recalled tea taken at the Washington home on the invitation of his school fellow.

Of the daily life of the Presidential household a few traditionary incidents still linger in Germantown. Horses and carriages had been brought along, and daily the President was

seen either on horseback or in his carriage, becoming a familiar figure to the townspeople. The family attended worship at the German Reformed Church, diagonally across the Market Square from the house, and it is said they there occupied the front pew. Watson, in his Annals, records that the Presidential mansion was kept closed on the Sabbath until the church bell began to toll, when it was opened just as the family emerged. The Annalist further says:

"Many remember his very civil and courteous demeanour to all classes in the town, as he occasionally had intercourse with them. He had been seen several times at Henry Fraley's* carpenter shop, and at Bringhurst's† blacksmith shop talking freely and cordially with both. They had both been in some of his campaigns. His lady endeared herself to many by her uniform gentleness and kindness. Neither of them showed pride or austerity." The picture of Martha Washington is recalled, frequently leaning out of the little window on the stair landing,

* Henry Fraley was a carpenter and drum maker. His shops were located where now stands St. Stephen's Church, Main Street, Germantown.

† John Bringhurst, and his son George, after him, were coach and carriage makers. In 1780 John Bringhurst had built a "chariot" for Washington.

talking to her neighbor Mrs. Bringhurst in the adjoining garden.

The pressure of public affairs was such that the President found it necessary to ride into Philadelphia several times a week to transact the business of the various departments.

The following letters, while containing no particular reference to Germantown, yet were written from here and serve to show what matters of a private and public nature were occupying the President's thoughts during his summer outing.

WASHINGTON TO JAMES ROSS.*

German Town Augt. 6th 1794.

The Honble.
James Ross Esqr;
Sir,

The enclosed was written agreeably to its date, (1st Augst. 94) and would have been sent by the mail to Pittsburg (under cover to Colo. Presley Neville) but finding that conveyance had become unsafe, I did not incline to embrace it.—It will, I hope & expect, be put into your hands by Mr. Bradford, the Attorney General, who will communicate to you the purport of his visit into the part of the Country wherein you reside.—

* From Archives Library of Congress. Heretofore unpublished.

The reason of my adding to the enclosed is, that yesterday a person (whose name, nor place of abode I did not enquire, being otherwise engaged, and hurried at the time) called upon me to know if I would sell my land in the County of Fayette—answering in the affirmative, he asked me the price—I told him I had given you a power to sell it, and to you his application had best be made.—Pressing still to know the price, I told him I could enter into no engagement, but supposed if the land was yet unsold he might obtain it at six dollars an acre.

This person was a driver of his own Team—and from his appearance I hardly supposed he was in circumstances to advance ten pounds in payment; but to my surprise he gave me to understand (not gasconading) that he could pay a £1,000 down, and with sufficient time to dispose of the land on which he lives, he could pay £3,000 more. I advised him to proceed to you, and he seemed disposed to go—of which I make this mention.

I am sorry I did not ask his name as he seemed much in earnest and had rid from Philadelphia to this place for the sole purpose of making the foregoing enquiries.—I think he said he lived in Cumberland County.—

With very great esteem
I am—Sir—
Your Obt. humble Servt.
Geo. Washington.

WASHINGTON TO BURGESS BALL. *

Germantown, 10 August, 1794.

Dear Sir,

We removed to this place about twelve days ago to avoid the heat of Philada., and probably may remain at it until the middle of next month. It was here I received your letter of the 5th instant which came to my hands yesterday.

The business of establishing arsenals and providing proper places for them, is within the Department of War; the Secretary of which (Genl. Knox) set out on Friday last for the Province of Maine, and will not be returned in less than six weeks—But as I am persuaded he has no idea (nor are there indeed funds provided equal thereto) of giving 25,000 Dollars for the site of *one only* I would not have you by any means avoid sewing Wheat; or doing any thing else which you might have had in contemplation to do, on account of what I mentioned to you in my last on this subject.

What (under the rose I ask it) is said or thought, as far as it has appeared to you, of the conduct of the People of the Western Counties of this State (Pennsylvania) towards the excise officers?—and does there seem to be a disposition among those with whom you converse to bring them to a sense of their duty, and obedience to law, by coercion, if, after they are fully notified by Proclamation and other expedients of the

* From Writings of Washington. Ford's edition, Vol. XII.

consequences of such outrageous proceedings, they do not submit to the laws of the United States, and suffer the collection of the duties upon spirituous liquors and stills to be made as in other places? In a word, would there be any difficulty, as far as the matter has passed under your observation, in drawing out a part of the Militia of Loudoun, Berkeley and Frederick—to quell this rebellious spirit and to support order and good government? You will readily perceive that questions of this sort from me to you and your answers, are for my private information, and to go no farther than ourselves.

I am sorry to hear that your bad state of health requires the waters of Bath, and hope they will restore you. My love (in which Mrs. Washington unites) is offered to Mrs. Ball and the family. I am, &c.

WASHINGTON TO COLONEL C. M. THURSTON.*

German Town Augt. 10th 1794.
(Private)

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 21st of June came duly to hand.—For the communication contained in it, I thank you; as I shall do for any other that is interesting to the community and necessary for me to be informed of.

That there should exist in this country such a spirit as you say pervades the people of Kentucky (and which I have also learnt through other channels) is, to

* From the Archives of the Library of Congress.

The Old Spencer Sun Dial

Now in possession of C. F. Jenkins, Germantown

me, matter of great wonder; and that it should prevail there, more than in any other part of the Union is not less surprising to those who are acquainted with the exertions of the General Government in their favor.—But it will serve to evince whensoever, and to whomsoever facts are developed (and they are not unknown, at this moment, to many of the principal characters in that State) that there must exist a predisposition among them to be dissatisfied under any circumstances, and under every exertion of government (short of a war with Spain which must eventually involve one with Great Britain) to promote their welfare.

The protection they receive, and the unwearied endeavors of the General Government to accomplish (by repeated and ardent remonstrances) what they seem to have most at heart—viz—the Navigation of the Mississippi, obtains no credit with them or what is full as likely, may be concealed from them or misrepresented by those Societies who under specious colourings are spreading mischief far & wide either from *real* ignorance of the measures pursuing by the government, or from a wish to bring it, as much as they are able, into discredit—for what purposes, every man is left to his own conjectures.

That similar attempts to discontent the public mind have been practiced with too much success in some of the Western Counties of this State you are, I am certain, not to learn.—Actual rebellion against the Laws of the United States exist at this moment

notwithstanding every lenient measure which could comport with the duties of the public Officers have been exercised to reconcile them to the collection of the taxes upon spirituous liquors and the Stiles.—What may be the consequences of such violent & outrageous proceedings is painful in a high degree even in contemplation.—But if the laws are to be so trampled upon with impunity, and a Minority (a small one too) is to dictate to the Majority there is an end put, at one stroke, to republican government; and nothing but anarchy and confusion is to be expected thereafter; for some other men, or society, may dislike another Law and oppose it with equal propriety until all Laws are prostrate and every one (the strongest I presume) will carve for himself.—Yet there will be found persons, I have no doubt, who although they may not be hardy enough to justify such open opposition to the Laws, will, nevertheless, be opposed to coercion even if the proclamation and the other temperate measures which are in train by the Executive to avert the dire necessity of a resort to arms, should fail.—How far such people may extend their influence—and what may be the consequences thereof is not easy to decide; but this we know, that it is not difficult by concealment of some facts, & the exaggeration of others (where there is an influence) to [manuscript torn] well meaning mind—at least for a time—truth will ultimately prevail where pains is taken to bring it to light.

I have great regard for Lieut. Morgan and respect

his military talents, and am persuaded if a fit occasion should occur no one would exert them with more zeal in the service of his country than he would;—It is my ardent wish however that this Country should remain in Peace as long as the Interest, honour & dignity of it will permit—and its laws, enacted by the Representatives of the People freely chosen obtain.—

With much esteem
I am. Dear Sir
Your obedt. Hble. servt.

Colo. Thurston — Go: Washington.

HAMILTON TO WASHINGTON.*

August 12, 1794.

The Secretary of the Treasury presents his respects to the President, and sends him two letters which were received last night from Pittsburg.

Would it not be advisable to put the garrison of Fort Franklin in the power of Major Butler, so that if he deems it advisable he may draw a part of it to his aid?

An attack from the Indians appears at present improbable, and an attack from the insurgents probable enough.

The bearer of the letters waits orders to return. Will the President suggest anything?

* From Hamilton's Works, Vol. V.

WASHINGTON TO HAMILTON.*

Germantown, August 12, 1794.

To the Secretary of the Treasury (acting for the Secretary of War).

Your letter of the 12th did not get to my hands until my return from Philadelphia about an hour ago.

The letters from Majors Butler and Baif make it necessary in my opinion, to vest discretionary orders with the former, to reinforce the garrison at Pittsburgh with as many men from Fort Franklin, as can be drawn from it without hazarding that post too much; providing the hazard (on account of the insurgents) may not be too great for the proposed advantage of the measure.

I sent you through the Secretary of State, two letters (of the 14th and 16th ult.) with inclosures from Gov. Blount, which you will consider and report on.

Geo. Washington.

GOVERNOR LEE TO WASHINGTON.†

Richmond August 17th 94.

My dear sir

Your late orders for a detachment of militia & proclamation give birth to a variety of sensations & opinions. All good citizens deplore the events which have produced this conduct on your part, & feel but one determination to maintain inviolate our happy government at the risk of their lives & fortunes— there are some among us from the influence of party

* Hamilton's Works, Vol. V.

† From Archives Library of Congress.

spirit & from their own ambitious views who rejoice in national adversity and gladden when they hear of governmental embarrassments.

I am gratified in telling you that the great body of this state will exert themselves in whatever way you may direct to the utmost of their power & I am persuaded that you may count with certainty on their zeal & determination. the awful occasion demands united efforts & I beg leave to offer to you my services in any way or station you may deem them proper—

When I saw you in Philadelphia I had many conversations with you respecting Mr. Henry & since my return I have talked very freely & confidentially with that gentleman—I plainly perceive that he has credited some information which he has received (from whom I know not) which induces him to believe that you consider him a factious seditious character & that you expressed yourself to this effect on your return from So. Carolina in your journey thro this state as well as elsewhere—Assured in my own mind that his opinions are groundless I have uniformly combatted them, & lament that any endeavors have been unavailing—He seems to be deeply & sorely affected. It is very much to be regretted, for he is a man of positive virtue as well as of transcendent talents, & was it not for his feelings above expressed, I verily believe he would be found among the most active supporters of your administration—Excuse me for mentioning this matter to you, I have long wished to do it in the hope that it will lead to a refutation of the sentiments entertained by Mr. H.

A very respectable gentleman told me the other day that he was at Mr. Jeffersons & among enquirys which he made of that gentleman, he asked if it was possible that you had attached yourself to G Britain & if it could be true that you was governed by British influence as was reported by many—

He was answered in the following words "that there was no danger of your being biassed by considerations of that sort so long as you was influenced by the wise advisers or advice which you at present had"—

I requested him to reflect & consider & to repeat again the answer—He did so & adhered to every word —Now as the conversation astonished me & is inexplicable to my mind as well as derogatory to your character, I consider it would be unworthy in me to withhold the communication from you—To no other person will it ever be made. The gentleman is a Mr. Robert Quarles who lives in Fluvanna county & is a man of strict veracity.

Wishing you every happiness I am your aff. friend

Henry Lee

WASHINGTON TO EDMUND RANDOLPH.*

(private)

19 August 1794.

Dear Sir,

I sincerely condole with you and Mrs. Randolph on your late loss; but as it was an event which had

* From Archives Library of Congress. Heretofore unpublished.

been long expected, I hope she will meet the stroke with fortitude.

Under the circumstances which exist, it is by no means my desire that you should attend to the duties of your Department in the city to-day, unless it accords *perfectly* with your convenience & inclination.—In that case, and that only, it is my wish that the files of your office may be thoroughly examined to see if such communications are on them as Mr. Jaudenes refers to, and that you and the Secretary of the Treasury would give this matter full consideration between this & to-morrow, when, at ten o'clock I will meet you both at my house in town, to know the result, and to converse further on this subject; which from present appearances, I think undignified, & highly insulting on the part of Spain.

Yours &c. Go. Washington.

BURGESS BALL TO WASHINGTON.

Bath—19th of Aug: 94.

Dear Sir,

Yours of the 10th came to hand yesterday, and this I shall send by the first opporty. that offers to any of the Post towns, there to be put in the Mail.

Nothing can be more distressing at this time than the Conduct of the People opposed to the Excise in Pensylva., and, I know how much it must distress you. As far as I've been able to judge of the dispositions of the People in the Counties of Loundoun Berkley &

* Archives Library of Congress. Heretofore unpublished.

Frederick, from being in Compy. now & then, I am inclined to think the People of those Counties wou'd be induced to parade pretty strong, that is, provided officers were appointed who had their Confidence.—I have not seen Genl Dark or Genl. Morgan, but have understood that they are averse to the measures adopted by the Insurgents—Previous to your Proclamation, and the sendg. out Commissioners, the oppinions of those I heard were much divided, but since it seems unanimously admitted by those who have ever been opposed to the Excise, as well as those who have always thought it a good Law, yt. if the Commissioners effected nothing, & the Insurgents continued to defy the Government, Force was absolutely necessary, and they ought to be brought to subjection—Your Proclamation, & sendg. out Commissioners, has given (I believe) great satisfaction.—Genl. Morgan I conceive wd. be a proper man to have Command, as he wd. sooner than any other get the men to march from those Counties, and probably on meeting the Insurgents wd. be more dreaded—Genl. Dark is very popular in this County, and (I think) wd. very soon get a number of men to march.

I've had a good deal of Conversation in this County with a Capt. Stephenson (now at Bath) a man who rais'd the finest Compy. to go against the Indians, and in the shortest time—He says he will go cheerfully, & he knows Dark will if order'd—Stephenson is now (I believe) his Brigade Major, & is really a clever Officer—Morgan I've not heard of particularly, but it

is here said, that he says he will go if order'd—It was but a little while before I left Loundoun, that the Outrage commenced, so that I heard very little there abt. it; but, in Conversation with Genl. Mason (Thompson) who has always been opposed to the Excise he admitted it was a lawless procedure & ought to be crushed.—The Excise Law seems by a great many (& I fear by the major part) to be very much condemn'd but those with whom, of that Class, I have conversed, admit that a repeal of it in a proper manner, is the only mode that ought to be attempted. Mr. Robt. Brooke of Frederick Cy. who is here, and who has always been as much opposed to the Law as any one, speaks also in that way—He is the leading man (I believe) in our Assembly, & is expected to be the next Governor. Upon the whole Sir, it seems the general Opinion, that if moderate measures will not bring the deluded People to a Sense of their duty, force must, as they dread the Idea of a State of Anarchy, wch. otherwise must infallibly ensue. God grant your Exertions in this Affair, as all others may be crown'd with success. I've been at this place abt. 5 days, and instead of findg. relief I am much worse, but hope it may be, that the Water, after weakening, may prove a restorative. I left my Family at Colo. Washington's where all were well of both families.—

With Complimts. to Mrs. Washington,

I am Dr. Sir
Yr. Affect. Sert.
B. Ball

WASHINGTON TO HAMILTON.*

German town 21 Augt. 1794.—

Sir,

To your note of this date (in behalf of the Department of War) asking my opinion or direction respecting the advisability of sending (under the existing circumstances of the Western Counties of Pennsylvania) two months pay to the army under the immediate orders of General Wayne, I answer, that under my present impressions the measure had better be delayed—at least until the Commissioners who were sent into those Counties, make their report. It certainly would from all the information that has been received from that quarter be too hazardous to send a sum of money by the way of Pittsburgh, thro' counties that are in open rebellion; & besides the circuitousness of the route through what is called the Wilderness, & the length of time required to send it by a messenger that way, there would be, in my opinion, no small risk in the attempt. But as I shall be in the City tomorrow, I will converse with you on this subject.—

Go. Washington.

TOBIAS LEAR TO WASHINGTON.†

George Town Augt. 22d. 1794.

My dear Sir,

It is with peculiar pleasure that I inform you of my having once more arrived in this comparatively happy Country.—

* From Writings of Washington, Sparks' edition, Vol. X.

† From Archives Library of Congress. Heretofore unpublished.

I sailed from Liverpool on the 11th of June and reached this place today. I have brought with me a valuable cargo of goods—and have made my arrangements of business to my satisfaction in England, Scotland & Holland. I have returned home without visiting other Countries, because I found the Spirit of Revolution was so far prevailing everywhere that there could be no calculation upon the operations of measures next year which may be concerted this in the commercial line.—

I heard of Mr. Jay's arrival in London the day before I left Liverpool, and have had the pleasure to learn since my arrival that there have been advises from him of a later date than my sailing.—

Having but a few moments before the mail closes it is not in my power to say anything on the subject of public affairs in Europe, & indeed of facts, & opinions founded on observation, I should have more to say than could be contained in the limits of a reasonable letter.—

To the good & reputable Mrs. Washington I must beg to be remembered in terms of gratitude & high respect—and to Mrs. Dandridge—Miss Nelly & my young friend Washington I give my best love.

With sentiments of sincere attachment I have the honor to be, my dear Sir,

Your grateful friend & respectful servant

Tobias Lear.

BURGESS BALL TO WASHINGTON.*

Bath 24th of August, 1794.

Dear Sir,

Yours of the 10th I recd. here on the 17th & I wd. ere this have answer'd it, but wish'd to do it with better Information than I then had, and indeed I wd. have waited another day, as this day I expect Genl. Mason in from Loundoun, but, tomorrow is the Post day from Winchester and an opporty. just now offers there.—The Conduct of the People in the upper part of Pennsylva. is exceedingly reprobated by all the thinkg. part here; and by those who have always been opposed to the Excise, as well as those in favour of it. The Gent. just callg. on his way to Winchester obliges me to curtail this letter, & to enclose you a scroll I wrote some days ago—I've just now been talkg. to Genl. Mason who arrived last night from Loundoun. He says he is afraid the Militia wd. not be got easily to march, but, as he had ever been opposed to the Excise System, he wd. think it more incumbent on him to use his Exertions to have the Laws executed—Genl. Dark I expect wd. be fond of going out, but Genl. Morgan, I fear, without the Chief Command wd. not.

I hope you'll excuse my taking this liberty of expressg. myself—I thank God I'm better than at the date of my other

I'm in haste Dr. Sir

Yr. Affect. Hble. servt.

B. Ball

* From Archives Library of Congress. Hitherto unpublished.

WASHINGTON TO HENRY LEE, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.*

(Private)

Germantown, 26 August, 1794.

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 17th came duly to hand, and I thank you for its communications. As the insurgents in the western counties of this State are resolved, (as far as we have yet been able to learn from the commissioners, who have been sent among them,) to persevere in their rebellious conduct until what they call the excise law is repealed, and acts of oblivion and amnesty are passed, it gives me sincere consolation amidst the regrets, with which I am filled by such lawless and outrageous conduct, to find by your letter above mentioned, that it is held in general detestation by the good people of Virginia, and that you are disposed to lend your *personal* aid to subdue this spirit, and to bring those people to a proper sense of their duty.

On this latter point I shall refer you to letters from the war office, and to a private one from Colonel Hamilton, (who, in the absence of the Secretary of War, superintends the *military* duties of that department,) for my sentiments on this occasion.

It is with equal pride and satisfaction I add, that, as far as my information extends, this insurrection is viewed with universal indignation and abhorrence, except by those, who have never missed an opportunity by side blows or otherwise to aim their shafts at the

* From Sparks' Writings of Washington, Volume X.

general government; and even among these there is not a spirit hardy enough yet openly to justify the daring infractions of law and order; but by palliatives are attempting to suspend all proceedings against the insurgents, until Congress shall have decided on the case, thereby intending to to gain time, and if possible to make the evil more extensive, more formidable, and of course more difficult to counteract and subdue.

I consider this insurrection as the first *formidable* fruit of the Democratic Societies, brought forth, I believe, too prematurely for their own views, which may contribute to the annihilation of them.

That these societies were instituted by the *artful and designing* members (many of their body I have no doubt mean well, but know little of the real plan,) primarily to sow the seeds of jealousy and distrust among the people of the government, by destroying all confidence in the administration of it, and that these doctrines have been budding and blowing ever since, is not new to any one, who is acquainted with the character of their leaders, and has been attentive to their manoeuvres. I early gave it as my opinion to the confidential characters around me, that, if these societies were not counteracted, (not by prosecutions, the ready way to make them grow stronger,) or did not fall into disesteem from the knowledge of their origin, and the views with which they had been instituted by their father, Genet, for purposes well known to the government, that they would shake the government to its foundation. Time and circumstances have con-

firmed me in this opinion; and I deeply regret the probable consequences; not as they will affect me personally, for I have not long to act on this theatre, and sure I am that not a man amongst them can be more anxious to put me aside, than I am to sink into the profoundest retirement, but because I see, under a display of popular and fascinating guises, the most diabolical attempt to destroy the best fabric of human government and happiness, that has ever been presented for the acceptance of mankind.

A part of the plan for creating discord is, I perceive, to make me say things of others, and others of me, which have no foundation in truth. The first, in many instances I *know* to be the case; and the second I believe to be so. But truth or falsehood is immaterial to them, provided the objects are promoted.

Under this head may be classed, I conceive, what it is reported I have said of Mr. Henry, and what Mr. Jefferson is reported to have said of me; on both of which, particularly the first, I mean to dilate a little. With solemn truth then I can declare, that I never expressed such sentiments of that gentleman, as from your letter he has been led to believe. I had heard, it is true, that he retained his enmity to the constitution; but with very peculiar pleasure I learnt from Colonel Coles, who I am sure will recollect it, that Mr. Henry was acquiescent in his conduct, and that, though he could not give up his opinion respecting the constitution, yet, unless he should be called upon by official duty, he would express no sentiment un-

friendly to the exercise of the powers of a government, which had been chosen by a majority of the people, or words to this effect.

Except intimating in this conversation (which, to the best of my recollection, was introduced by Colonel Coles), that report had made Mr. Henry speak a different language; and afterwards at Prince Edward Court-House, where I saw Mr. Venable, and, finding I was within eight or ten miles of Mr. Henry's seat, and expressing my regret at not seeing him, the conversation might be similar to that held with Colonel Coles; I say, except in these two instances, I do not recollect, nor do I believe, that in the course of the journey to and from the southward I ever mentioned Mr. Henry's name in conjunction with the constitution or government. It is evident, therefore, that these reports are propagated with evil intentions, to create personal differences. On the question of the constitution, Mr. Henry and myself, it is well known, have been of different opinions, but personally I have always respected and esteemed him; nay, more, I have conceived myself under obligations to him for the friendly manner in which he transmitted to me some insidious anonymous writings that were sent to him in the close of the year 1777, with a view to embark him in the opposition that was forming against me at that time.

I well recollect the conversations you allude to in the winter preceding the last, and I recollect also, that difficulties occurred, which you, any more than myself,

were not able to remove. First, though you believed, yet you would not undertake to assert, that Mr. Henry would be induced to accept *any appointment* under the general government; in which case, and supposing him to be inimical to it, the wound the government would receive by his refusal, and the charge of attempting to silence his opposition by a place, would be great. Secondly, because you were of opinion that *no* office, which would make a residence at the seat of government essential, would comport with his disposition or views. And, thirdly, because, if there was a vacancy in the supreme judiciary at that time, of which I am not at this time certain, it could not be filled from Virginia, without giving two judges to that State, which would have excited unpleasant sensations in other States. Anything short of one of the great offices, it could not be presumed he would have accepted; nor would there, under any opinion he might entertain, have been propriety in (my offering such an office). What is it, then, you have in contomplation, that you conceive would be relished? And ought there not to be a moral certainty of its acceptance? This being the case, there would not be wanting a disposition on my part, but strong inducements on public and private grounds, to invite Mr. Henry into any employment under the general government, to which his inclination might lead, and not opposed by those maxims, which have been the invariable rule of my conduct.

With respect to the words said to have been

uttered by Mr. Jefferson, they would be enigmatical to those who are acquainted with the characters about me, unless supposed to be spoken ironically; and in that case they are too injurious to me, and have too little foundation in truth, to be ascribed to him. There could not be the trace of doubt on his mind of predilection in mine towards Great Britain or her politics, unless, (which I do not believe,) he has set me down as one of the most deceitful and uncandid men living; because not only in private conversations between ourselves on this subject, but in my meetings with the confidential servants of the public, he has heard me often, when occasions presented themselves, express very different sentiments, with an energy that could not be mistaken by *any one* present.

Having determined, as far as lay within the power of the executive, to keep this country in a state of neutrality, I have made my public conduct accord with the system; and, whilst so acting as a public character, consistency and propriety as a private man forbid those intemperate expressions in favor of one nation, or to the prejudice of another, which many have indulged themselves in, and I will venture to add, to the embarrassment of government, without producing any good to the country. With very great esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.*

*Governor Lee communicated the contents of this letter to Patrick Henry, with the result that the latter wrote to Washington, expressing the pleasure it gave him to know that he had not incurred the censure of the President. As disclosed by Henry Lee's letter on page 244, serious misunderstandings had existed.

BURGESS BALL TO WASHINGTON. *

Bath—28th Aug: 1794.

Dear Sir,

In addition to the Scroll I wrote you a few days ago, I take the liberty of mentiong. some further Circumstances. I am inform'd Morgan & Dock are order'd upon the Expidition on the Insurgents, shd. it be carryed on. In Frederick no Draft will be necessary, & Volunteers will turn out, as also in this County, from which (this County) the proportion is abt. 200 men. I hope in God the deluded People e'er this have come to a sense of their Error, but, if they do not, I have no doubt but a sufficient no. will soon be got to quell them. Since I wrote you I think I've been mending, but my wife having been (since I left her) very sick, she is now on her way here also, so that I expect we shall yet be here 2 or 3 weeks more. If 100 Acres of Land with the Seat on the River will be sufficient for the purpose wanted, I will take for that 2000 Virga. money, of which I will inform Genl. Knox, or, if you please, you may communicate to him. This Place is gettg. now almost deserted, so that we shall have a dreary time of it, but, Colo. Fitzgerald is here, who is an Old Acquaintance, and he is mendg. fast.

With best respects to Mrs. Washington, I am,

Dear Sir

Yr. Affect. Hble. sert.

B. Ball

* From Archives Library of Congress, Hitherto unpublished.

WASHINGTON TO TOBIAS LEAR.*

German Town Augt. 28th 1794.

My Dear Sir,

It gave me very sincere pleasure to find by your letter of the 22. inst., which by the by did not come into my hands until the evening of the 26th (not time enough to acknowledge the receipt of it by the Post of next day) that you had arrived in good health at George Town with a valuable cargo of Goods & that you had arranged your business to your satisfaction in England, Scotland and Holland.—When you shall have arranged your business at George Town, & business or inclination may turn your face towards the Eastward, it will be unnecessary to add, that to see you, wd. make this family happy; & with a little roughing (?), on your part, you could be accommodated therein.—

If you have no accts. later, I have the pleasure to tell you that by a letter from your good Mother—to Mrs. Washington, that she and little Lincoln were perfectly well on the 11th of this month—and, by her account—that he continues to be the fine sprightly child you left him.—

The enclosed, though out of season now, will serve to show that your letters did not sleep with me in silence.—It went by Mr. Jay, and was returned by him with the following paragraph on a letter dated London 23 June,

* From Archives Library of Congress. Hitherto unpublished.

"On Sunday the 15th of this month I arrived here.—The next day I made enquiries for Mr. Lear, and was informed that he had gone to Liverpool to embark for America.—I asked whether it was probable that letters sent by the Post would find him still there —the answer was, that it was highly probable.— Under these circumstances & well knowing the jealous attention now paid to letters passing through the post office, I thought it more advisable to forebear making the experiment & to return that letter to you."—

The copy of my letter to Mr. Young, from whom I have received no acknowledgement, will be of no other use to you now, than to shew what were, and still are, my wishes; that if any enquiries for back lands should be made in your presence, you might be enabled to bring mine into view.—The plan with respect to my Mount Vernon Estate, I have no idea could be carried into effect in this Country.—

I had in contemplation to visit that place about the last of September, or beginning of October, but the rebellious conduct of the people in the Western counties of this State renders the journey uncertain— & may defeat it altogether.—

With very great sincerity
and affection
I am always yours
Go: Washington.

Mr. Lear.

WASHINGTON TO TOBIAS LEAR.*

German Town 28th Augt. 1794.

Tobias Lear Esqr;

Dear Sir,

Mr. Johnson & Doctr. Stuart having resolved to withdraw themselves as Commissioners of the Federal City, and not to act after the meeting which is proposed to be held on the 15th of next month, it has become to appoint two others in their places.—One of whom, it is said, ought to possess a considerable stock of legal abilities as cases are frequently occuring to render Law knowledge necessary for the purposes of deciding on points depending thereon as for the draughting of agreements and other instruments which are requisite in the progress of the business.—

Mr. Scott (at present of Baltimore) a gentleman eminent in the profession of the Law—a man of character & fortune—and one who has the welfare of the new City, much at heart has been applied to and accepts the appointed trust.—And if it is convenient and agreeable to you to accept also the Commission will be again completed and the business go on without interruption from and after the ensuing meeting as before.—

It has been found from experience, indispensibly necessary that the Commissioners should reside in the City (in George Town would be tantamount) and devote, by some arrangement amongst themselves, much of their time to the multitudinous concerns of the

* From Archives Library of Congress. Hitherto unpublished.

same—thereby superceeding the necessity of employing a superintendent.—As the rendering of such duties are not to be expected on the terms the late Commissioners served (and two of them decline it under any terms) I have fixed the salary for each at sixteen hundred dollars pr. Annum.—

Were it not that I am unwilling to add any thing that might carry with it the appearance of influencing your judgment, in the decision you are called upon to make in this case, I should have expressed a wish that it might be found convenient to you to accept the appointment.—If, however, you should find it incompatible with your other plans & views, and decline the acceptance—I pray you to let me know, as far as you may be able to discover, in how respectable a light Doctr. Thornton stands, or would be considered by the Proprietors of the Federal City (amongst whom he spent some time in the month of July last).—The Doctr. is sensible, and indefatigable I am told, in the execution of whatever he engages;—To which may be added his taste for architecture, but being little known doubts arise on that head.—If (in case of your non-acceptance) any other person or persons shd. occur to you as fit for this business, be so good as to mention (under the rose) their names to me.—The appointment is necessary, and can be delayed no longer.—

With very great esteem & regard
I am—Dear Sir—
Your Affecte. servt.
Geo. Washington.

WASHINGTON TO JOHN JAY.*

Philadelphia, 30 August, 1794.

My Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 23d of June from London, and the duplicate, have both been received; and your safe arrival after so short a passage gave sincere pleasure, as well on private as on public account, to all your friends in this country; and to none in a greater degree, I can venture to assure you, than it did to myself.

As you will receive letters from the Secretary of State's office, giving an official account of the public occurrences as they have arisen and progressed, it is unnecessary for me to retouch any of them; and yet I cannot restrain myself from making some observations on the most recent of them, the communication of which was received this morning only. I mean the protest of the governor of Upper Canada, delivered by Lieutenant Sheaffe, against our occupying lands far from any of the posts, which long ago they ought to have surrendered, and far within the known and until now the acknowledged limits of the United States.

On this irregular and high-handed proceeding of Mr. Simcoe, which is no longer masked, I would rather hear what the ministry of Great Britain will say, than pronounce my own sentiments thereon. But can that government or will it attempt, after this official

* Sparks' Writings of Washington, Volume X.

act of one of their governors, to hold out ideas of friendly intentions towards the United States, and suffer such conduct to pass with impunity?

This may be considered as the most open and daring act of the British agents in America, though it is not the most hostile or cruel; for there does not remain a doubt in the mind of any well-informed person in this country, not shut against conviction, that all the difficulties we encounter with the Indians, their hostilities, the murders of helpless women and innocent children along our frontiers, result from the conduct of the agents of Great Britain in this country. In vain is it then for its administration in Britain to disavow having given orders, which will warrant such conduct, whilst their agents go unpunished; whilst we have a thousand corroborating circumstances, and indeed almost as many evidences, some of which cannot be brought forward, to prove, that they are seducing from our alliance, and endeavoring to remove over the line, tribes that have hitherto been kept in peace and friendship with us at a heavy expense, and who have no causes of complaint, except pretended ones of their creating; whilst they keep in a state of irritation the tribes, who are hostile to us, and are instigating those, who know little of us or we of them, to unite in the war against us; and whilst it is an undeniable fact, that they are furnishing the whole with arms, ammunition, clothing, and even provisions, to carry on the war; I might go further, and, if they are not much belied, add men also in disguise.

Can it be expected, I ask, so long as these things are known in the United States, or at least firmly believed, and suffered with impunity by Great Britain, that there ever will or can be any cordiality between the two countries? I answer, No. And I will undertake, without the gift of prophecy, to predict, that it will be impossible to keep this country in a state of amity with Great Britain long, if the posts are not surrendered. A knowledge of these being my sentiments would have little weight, I am persuaded, with the British administration, and perhaps not with the nation, in effecting the measure; but both may rest satisfied, that, if they want to be in peace with this country, and to enjoy the benefits of its trade, to give up the posts is the only road to it. Withholding them, and the consequences we feel at present continuing, war will be inevitable.

This letter is written to you in extreme haste, whilst the papers respecting this subject I am writing on are copying at the Secretary of State's office, to go by express to New York, for a vessel which we have just heard sails to-morrow. You will readily perceive, therefore, that I have had no time for digesting, and as little for correcting it. I shall only add, that you may be assured always of the sincere friendship and effection of yours, &c.

WASHINGTON TO THOMAS PETER. *

German Town Augt. 31st 1794.

Sir,

Your letter of the 27th came to my hands yesterday.—

* From Archives Library of Congress. Hitherto unpublished.

If I had the Sum you require, or knew where to obtain it, my endeavours to accommodate you with a loan to the amount of £2000 should not be wanting. —But the truth, as it respects my own resources, is, that if my receipts & expenditures are balanced at the years end, it is full as much as they have been competent to for many years back.—And I have so little knowledge of the resources of others—lenders or borrowers of money, in a private way—as not to be able to designate any person who may come under the class of a lender.—In fact I believe there are not many of them.—Commerce & the various speculations of the present day leave but little money for loan at the legal interest between individuals.—If, however, in the course of a few days I can obtain more Satisfactory information you shall be made acquainted therewith but would have you place no dependance thereon—for it would be uncandid not to add, that I believe there are an hundred borrowers for one lender—and that I am not struck with the material difference between becoming security to the Bank, or to an individual, unless interest is higher in one case than the other,—in both it must, or ought to be, regularly paid. but when I say this, I ought to acknowledge at the same time, that I know nothing of the rules & regulations by which the Banks are governed—having no interest in, or the least concern with, any one of them.

As you think, & I have always heard, the contemplated purchase would be a valuable one, it would be to be regretted, if you should miss it, as there can

be no doubt under the rapid increase of land (particularly that wch. approximate to the Seat of Government) but that one half would pay for the whole a few years hence—under these circumstances—and under such clear perceptions as Mr. Peter (your father) has of these things I can have no conception that because he would give a preference to one mode, he would pass by another to obtain an object which, if I am not mistaken, would be peculiarly interesting & advantageous to you, eventually.—I wish you all happiness —& with esteem am.

Sir

Your Obedt. Servt.

Go: Washington.

Mr. Thomas Peter.

WASHINGTON TO ROBERT LEWIS.*

German Town Augt. 31st 1794.

Mr. Robt. Lewis—

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 19th inst: has been received; and I will answer such parts as require it.—

The money in your hands, belonging to me may be lodged in Alexandria, and made subject to Mr. William Pearce (my manager) his order.—This will answer all the purposes of your coming down, if he is advised thereof.—At the same time write, and transmit me the Acct. that I may see who have paid, and who are delinquent.—Charge every thing due to yourself

* From Archives Library of Congress. Heretofore unpublished.

in the account, as I have an insuperable objection to after reckonings.—

The ensuing Rents may be applied in purchasing in the Leases if to be accomplished on advantageous terms—but do not deceive yourself as to the calculation of receiving 10 pr. Ct. on the money advanced.—For illucidation take this example—suppose a tenament at £5. pr. Annum is bought in for £100, & rented afterwards at £10 pr. Annum—what pr. Ct. do I receive in this case? not 10 pr. Ct. surely, but 5 Pr. Ct. *only;* because £5. would have been received if no purchase had been made, and the £100 loaned to you, or any other person would produce the other £5; of course I gain nothing by the purchase—This statement might and probably had occurred to you but to make the matter certain, I thought it would be best to mention it.—

If advantageous purchases can be made, and the rents arising are inadequate, upon notice thereof I will fall upon some expedient to enlarge the fund.—and the time of purchase may be extended to the days of Grace allowed by the Leases, or the Replevy Bonds where given.—

In all cases of Transfer under the authority of Mr. Muse, request in my name, & behalf, a copy of the licence given by me, to him, for this purpose before you bring ejectments which you may not be able to support.—The reason I require this is, because I cannot have have recourse to my papers at Mount Vernon to furnish copies from thence.

I am very well satisfied with what you have done with my property in Winchester, Bath & on Potomac River but wish you had mentioned the terms on which you had offered the latter—and whether there was no condition made with the tenant at Bath, that If I should want the house for myself, or a friend, during the season of resort to the Waters, it was to be cleared & got in order for me or for such friend, without hesitation or delay; without such reservation I might as well be without the house.—Nor do I recollect (not having your letters by me) whether you have in any of them mentioned in what condition they are.—They cost me £150 cash to build them.—

Give my love, in which Mrs. Washington united, to Mrs. Lewis—and be assured of the friendship & regard of

Yr. Affecte. Uncle
Geo. Washington.

WASHINGTON TO HAMILTON.

Wednesday, Sept. 3, 1794.*

Dear Sir:

As I know nothing that calls me to the city to-day, I shall not be there until to-morrow, which will be in time for common occurrences.

The contents of the inclosed are agreeable.

Yours always.

* Hamilton's Works, Vol. V.

WASHINGTON TO BRYAN FAIRFAX.*

German Town Sept. 8th 1794.

My dear Sir,

It is not my wish to add to the trouble which I am sorry has been thrown upon you (in a manner unavoidably) in the management of the suit against against the Representatives, or Security of the deceased Doctr. Savage.—But when I am written to on this subject by those who are interested therein, I feel the necessity of making some response lest silence should receive an unfavorable interpretation.

On this ground I give you the trouble of perusing the enclosed letter from Mr. Peter Trenor—and my answer; after which let me pray you to put a wafer on the letter, & cause it to be forwarded agreeably to the superscription by the first conveyance that may present to your view.—

Who Mr. Trenor is I know not.—Nor have I any recollection of what he says I wrote to him on the 15th of Novr. 1786 (having no papers of that date by me at this place to recur to)—I have some imperfect remembrance, it is true, of an application that was made to me by a person in [word obliterated] about the period he mentions with which I was not favorably impressed—but why I was not so, or whether it came from this person, I am unable to inform you with the least precision.—Nor is it of much moment as the authenticity and regularity of the papers he alludes to must decide his pretensions.—

* From Archives Library of Congress. Heretofore unpublished.

With best regards to Mrs. Fairfax, and with very sincere esteem & regard for yourself

I remain—Dear Sir

Your most Affecte. &

The Revd. Obedient Servant

Mr. Fairfax. Go: Washington.

BURGESS BALL TO WASHINGTON.*

Sulphur Springs—10th Sep: 94.

Dear Sir,

I took the liberty of writing to you about 2 weeks ago from Bath—At that time I expected my Wife wd. have come there to me, but, she was then so sick she cd. not, and I came down to her. We are now all at these Springs wch. are only abt. 8 miles from Colo. Washingtons & shall remain abt. 10 days longer—Fanny is mendg. but as to myself, 'tho I sometimes appear so, upon the whole I fear I do not. Our Children, & Miss Milly who is with us, are all pretty well—Last Saturday I went to Martinsburg to see how the Regt. in that part of the County turn'd out their proportion of Men, (which was 91) and was happy to see them turn out Voluntarily without Drafting. On Monday I went to Chs. Town to see the conduct of the Regt. there, which was equally clever, so that the Quota of this County is ready—As to Frederick, I was sorry to hear that a part from one of the Regts. there was obliged to be drafted, 'tho Morgan exerted himself much for Volunteers, but,

*From Archives Library of Congress. Heretofore unpublished.

House occupied by Gilbert Stuart
Number 5½0 Main Street

the reason I'm told was owing to an unpopular appointment of one of the Captains—The other Regt. turn'd out all their Volunteers—Thus the Quota of the two Counties are ready, and I'm inclined to think that treble the no. wd. turn out. I can hear nothg. from any of the other Counties at all, all of which that are to furnish, are on this side of the Ridge, but, I doubt not but the Virga. Quota will very soon be able to march, if necessary. Upon the whole, I do believe the People wish to see the Laws executed & Government supported, 'tho a great many wish much to see the Excise Law repealed.

Governour Lee, we are told, is appointed to the Command, and I'm happy to find (from what I've seen & heard) that Morgan & Dark will go under him—the latter I've seen, & the other I've heard of, as a certainty—At Martinsburg one of the Insurgents is taken up (& put in Goal) who confesses he put the fire to Nevells Kitchen and was on his way to Shepperds Town for Salt—He is to have a Trial on Friday, but will no doubt be sent to Pennsylva. I have written to Genl. Knox respecting the 100 Acres of Land as I mentd. in my last to you, and if that qty. of Land will do (and the price) I wish as soon as possible to be determined, as I can make a purchase of Bull near Colo. Washingtons, 400 Acres at £5 & for improvemts. 300£. Mr. Newman, the Englishman who arrived not long since at Alexanda. said he wd. call & see my Land, the price of which I told him was 25 dollars per Acre, Cash.

Fanny & Miss Milly desire their best respects to Mrs. Washington & yourself, & I am

with the highest Esteem
Dr. Sir
Yr. Affect. Hble st.
B Ball

NB. I'm in great pain with my Bowels at present, which must be some Apology for this Scroll.

We expect to be at Home in abt. 12 days from this.—I've made free to inclose my Letter to Genl. Knox, which you'll please forward or suppress, as you think expedient. B B

WASHINGTON TO JAMES ROSS.*

German Town Sepr. 13th 1794.

Sir,

By Mr. Bradford I was favored with your letter of the 3d. Inst. from Pittsburgh; together with Two hundred and Sixty seven dollars on account of Colo. Cannons Bond;—for which, and the Bank you have placed the residue of it in, I pray you to accept my best thanks.

I am ready, and willing, to dispose of my lands in Fayette County at the price, & on the terms conditionally offered by the man from Cumberland County, whensoever he, or any other is disposed to close the matter agreeably thereto.—And I would dispose of my other tract in Washington County on the conditions mentioned in your letter of the third, by Mr. Bradford.—I do not, for reasons which will readily

* Archives Library of Congress. Hitherto unpublished.

occur to you repeat these, but a recurrence to, or recollection of the purport of that letter, will inform you what they are.—I will only add on this head, that I am more sollicitous that interest on the unpaid sums shall be secured with punctuality, and without trouble, when due, than I am for the shortness of the credit which is to be allowed;—especially if lengthening the credit would enhance the price.—

The state of matters in the Western Counties of this Commonwealth fill me with the deepest regret, but I shall not trouble you with more than this general expression of it. Circumstanced as things have been in them, for sometime, a letter on business of a private nature, & of immaterial consequence, was not to be expected;—nor would the postponement of one, until a more tranquil scene have surprized or excited the least impatience in me.

With great esteem & regard
I am, Sir
Your obedt. & obliged

The Honble.
James Ross Esqr.

Hble. Servant
Go: Washington.

On September 20th the family moved back into the city. It cost the President $7.00 to get his two loads of goods hauled back, whereas the charge to take them out was but $6.00. Colonel Isaac Frank's bill for rent of the house for the six weeks was $201.60.

One of the most troublesome public matters which engaged Washington's attention during his six weeks in Germantown was the insurrection in the western part of Pennsylvania. On August 7th a proclamation had been issued warning the law breakers that if they did not disperse by September 1st, troops would be sent against them. The proclamation having had no effect on the insurgents, on the 2d of September the militia was called out and ordered to rendezvous at Carlisle. On the 30th of the month Washington set out from Philadelphia, with his "single-seated phaeton drawn by four fine gray horses," accompanied by Alexander Hamilton, riding on horseback, on his left and his private secretary, Bartholomew Dandridge, riding on his right. Their route took them up through Germantown. According to tradition, a troop of cavalry was drawn up to escort him through the village, but in order to avoid them, the party went out School House Lane and up the Township Line. They dined at Norristown, slept at the Trappe, and reached Carlisle October 4th. Washington remained with the army about three weeks, returning to Philadelphia October 28th.

CHAPTER XIV.

Washington as a Farmer.

THE years between the close of the Revolution and the beginning of Washington's term as President of the United States were devoted diligently to the improvement of the estate at Mt. Vernon, and his regret in again leaving private life was increased by this necessary absence from the farms and fields, to which he was so deeply attached. Regularly while the President was absent from Mt. Vernon a report from his manager, giving the most minute information, was forwarded to him. The condition of the weather, the crops, the hands, the increase in live stock and the amount of work accomplished were all set forth in detail. Accompanying the report was a letter giving other particulars. Throughout the Presidential term these letters were answered once a week, sometimes oftener, and usually on Sunday afternoon, which the President reserved for his private correspondence. These letters were first written out roughly, then copied in fair hand and press copies taken.

It is from these copies, preserved in the archives of the Library of Congress, that the seven following letters written from Germantown have been selected. They are part of a remarkable series of one hundred and sixteen, covering his correspondence with William Pearce, who was his superintendent from October, 1793, to January, 1797. They serve to show the greatness of Washington's mind in its grasp of details, and are remarkable when it is considered that they were often written in the midst of the most trying and exacting public duties. It will be noted that they were all written on Sunday.

German Town Augt. 3d 1794.*

Mr. Pearce,

I removed to this place on Wednesday last in order to avoid the heat of the City of Philadelphia.—It is probable I shall remain here until about the middle of September.—But letters will come to me as regularly as if I had resided in the City.—

Your letter of the 27th ulto., and the reports I received yesterday as usual, & wish the rains we have been complaining of may not be much wanted before the end of this month, as the weather since that fall hath put on the appearance of drought—which if

* This entire series of letters was edited by Moncure D. Conway and published by the Long Island Historical Society in 1889.

it happens, will be almost as injurious to the Corn Crop as if those rains had not fallen.—

If your Corn ground has got foul by the rains which have fallen, or if they are not perfectly clean, I had rather, although it will inevitably delay your seeding, put off sowing Wheat—or anything else indeed—until it is clean, light and otherwise fit for the reception of them—for I have never found anything but disappointed hopes from a contrary practice; which has long decided me in an opinion, that to attempt the cultivation of more ground than one can, under almost any circumstances, master, is not the most certain way to make large and fine Crops, but an infallible one to exhaust the land.—I am perfectly persuaded moreover, that if the same labour & expence of manure, &c. (which in the common mode of management in Virginia) was bestowed on 50 acres of land, that is now scattered over an 100, that the former would be more productive & profitable to the owner.—What I would be understood to mean by this is that a field not more than half prepared for a Crop —the Crop not more than half tilled—& the ground but indifferently manured, will not produce as much as the half of it would if these were bestowed in full proportion to the requirements of the land.—If one's means are equal to the accomplishment of the whole, there can be no doubt in that case but that the whole will bring more than half—All I mean to express is, that whatever is attempted should be well executed as it respects Crops—and as it respects meadows & other

improvements to complete & make good as one goes. —It is not my intention to apply what I have here said to the state in which you have described your Corn ground to be under from so much rain or to any particular case; but as general observations which I am persuaded will hold good in all cases.—An essential object with every farmer ought to be the destruction of weeds.—His arable and pasture gr. should produce nothing but grain, pulse if he raises them, vegetables of different sorts, according to his designs, and grasses.—Nothing then but deep and frequent plowing, hoeing & hand weeding, can eradicate weeds, & such other trash as foul, & exhaust the fields, & diminish the Crops: and these, neither in season, in quantity or quality, can be given, if more is undertaken than the force & means is competent to do.

I am glad to hear that the young Timothy is beginning to shew itself in the new meadows.—It is an ardent wish of mine to have the whole well covered with grass—free from sprouts & weeds, and smooth for the scythe.—How does the Clover which was sown with the Oats at Mansion house come on?—Does the Potatoes at that place look well?—What is the general appearance of them at the Farms?

Crow has been applying to Colonel Ball (near Leesburgh in Loudoun County) for a place—if therefore he or McKoy remains it will only be because (after enquiry) they find they cannot do better—I would have you therefore, make your agreements with whomsoever you may think will answer your purposes

on the Eastern Shore, or elsewhere, conclusive, otherwise you may meet with some disappointment, and at a late hour perhaps be obliged to put up with any you can get.—For your own ease and satisfaction, I am persuaded you will endeavor to provide men of good character and such as have the reputation of being industrious, sober & knowing in their management of Negros and other concerns of a farm.—These things being ascertained to your own satisfaction is all I require, as you know what has been, or ought to be given for such Overlookers as I stand in need of.—

It seems to me, to be indispensibly necessary, that some person should be engaged in place of Thomas Green, to look after my Carpenters, for in the manner they conduct under his superintendency, it would be for my interest to set them free, rather than give them their victuals & cloaths.—James, by the Reports, has been 9 days I perceive in plaining the floors of the house in Town.—Muclus (besides what was done to it before) six days paving, & sanding the Cellar which a man in Philadelphia wd. have done in less than as many hours.—Davis eight or nine days papering, and soon—whilst Green himself, & the others, appear determined (as it would seem to me) to make the new house at Union farm a standing job for the Summer; —as the Chimney, & under-pinning will, more than probably be, for Davis the same time. When this last work is done, that is, underpinning the house, it must be remembered that air holes is left in it to prevent the sleepers from rotting.—

It may not be amiss to say beforehand that no trifling character (unless he is suffered to tread in the footsteps of Green) will do for an Overlooker of these workmen.—Besides the usual requisites of skill, honesty, sobriety & industry, he must be a man of temper, firmness, & resolution.—for it is not to be expected that men who have been in the habits of such extreme idleness so long, can be recovered from it without prudent management, & much resolution properly tempered.—I do not mean that a person in the place of Green should be employed before his year is up, unless his conduct in the meantime should in your judgment, indispensibly require it.

I would not have you engage any person in the room of Butler yet, though it would be but fair & candid to let him know that by his age, inactivity, and unacquaintedness with the management of Negros it would not suit me to continue him longer than for the term he stands engaged at present.—If it suits him equally to go away before the expiration of that term, I would, in that case, write to the farm, I have mentioned to you in my last two letters, to see if he is still disengaged, and would go there;—But unless Butler's inclination leads him to go, I shall neither require it, nor write to the other.

As soon as you are able to fix upon the precise time at which you shall leave Mount Vernon for the Eastern Shore mention it in a letter, & when it is probable you will be back that I may regulate my action accordingly.—

The Bacon & other things which you sent up to Alexandria are arrived in good order, in the City of Philadelphia.

I have nothing more to add than that, as this is the critical month for Corn, which is also a plant that is subject to great & sudden changes, my desire is that you will mention the appearance of it in every letter you write.—I want also to know how the Buck Wheat, sown for seed, has come up & looks—and whether of that you turned in as a manure there was seed enough ripe to stock the ground again with this plant.—I am

Your friend &c

Go: Washington

Mr. William Pearce.

German Town, Augt. 10th 1794.

Mr. Pearce

I have duly received your letter of the 2d. with the reports of the preceding week.—

If you think the Oat ground at River farm, will not be too much drawn by a succeeding Crop of Wheat, for Clover, I have no objection to your sowing it with Wheat.—but I have serious doubts on this head; and doubts equally serious of another kind,—viz—that on such stiff & baking land as mine is, sowing Clover on Wheat, in the Spring, (or which is still better, on light snows in the Month of January or February) will rarely answer.—A proof of this you have had both at Dogue Run & Union farm the pres-

ent year; and to the best of my recollection I have not been much more successful in former years.—But I leave it to you to act in this case according to your own judgment.—It is my wish to lay the ground you speak of to Clover as soon as possibly it can be put into condition to bear it, to any advantage—for until this happens, the seed is, in a manner, thrown away and an expense, without profit is incurred.—

When the money becomes due for the flour sold in Alexandria, receive the same—take from it what your necessities may require;—& deposit the rest in the Bank at that place; where it will be ready for my call, or any order I may give concerning it; inform me thereof.—I do not perceive by the Spinning report, that any of the Girls are employed in making woolen cloaths for the people;—nor do I know what cloth you have on hand (from the Weavers) for this purpose.—All ought to be ready by the first of November to deliver to them.—

I do not, at this distance, pretend to determine when your people, *generally* will have most leisure for the purpose, but this I can determine, that whenever it does happen, all hands that can be spared ought to be employed on the New Race to the Mill; for the time spent in repairing the old Race after every Rain, would go a good way towards the completion of the new one—besides the great saving of water.—

If you think the Fall a better time to sow the Seeds which have been saved from the little garden & the Vineyard than the Spring I could wish to have it

done, as I am extremely anxious to encrease the quantity of each as fast as I am able—particularly the

(?); but if, on the other hand, the Spring is thought the safest season the sowing may be delayed until that period—wch. on one acct. would be convenient, as I mean to sow them in squares in the lot now in Potatoes at the Mansion house.—

Desire the Gardener to save as much seed as he can from the everlasting Pea in the Vineyard.—I cannot but be of opinion that this Pea, cut young, will make an excellent Hay.—The quantity of it will be great—and its continuance in the ground long.—Nor do I believe it requires very strong land to produce it.—

I am — Your friend &c.

Go: Washington

Mr. William Pearce.

German Town Augt. 17th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 10th has been duly received, and I am glad to find by it that your Corn still retains a favourable appearance, and the ground on which it grows in tolerable good order for the reception of Wheat.—I wish it had been in perfect order, as I have no idea of the propriety of sowing where it is not.—You have not yet answered a question in one of my late letters—viz—whether the Buck wheat which had been plowed in for Manure, had so seeded the ground

as to be bringing forward a second crop of that article for the same purpose—that is for Manure.—

I cannot with certainty recollect, whether I saw the India hemp growing when I was last at Mount Vernon—but think it was in the Vineyard—somewhere. I hope it was sown, and therefore desire that the seed may be saved in due season & with as little loss as possible—that, if it be valuable I may make the most of it.—

What appearance have the Potatoes which the Gardener attempted to raise from the Sprouts put on at this time; and what are they likely to come to, compared with such as might have been produced in the same ground, planted at the same time in the usual way.—

When I was at home, an application was made to me, by Kate at Muddy hole (through her husband Will) to lay the Negro Women (as a Granny) on my estate; intimating that she was full as well qualified for this purpose as those into whose hands it was entrusted and to whom I was paying twelve or £15 a year—& why she should not be so I know not, but wish you to cause some enquiry to be made into this matter—, & commit this business to her if thereupon you shall be satisfied of her qualifications—This service formerly was always performed by a Negro Woman belonging to the estate—but latterly, until now, none seemed disposed to undertake it.

I perceive by the George Town Gazette, that the Potomac Company by their Treasurer William

Hartshorn of Alexandria, has called upon the holders of shares in that Navigation for twelve pounds Sterg. each, to be paid on, or before the first day of next month (September).—I hold five shares in the Company which will make the call upon me £60 Sterg. which is to be discharged at an exchange of 33⅓ pr. ct. wch. amounts to £80 Virga. Curry. or 266⅔ dolrs.—Let this sum be paid by the day or I shall have interest to pay for every day it runs over. —You will pay it out of the money due for the Flour which was sold in Alexandria & wch I desired might be placed in the Bank.

Not having Colo. Lyle's Bond by me, I cannot make a clear statement of the matter in my Books, without knowing the precise condition of it.—I therefore desire you will send me an exact copy of the condition of the said Bond, with the date thereof in your first letter.—

I do not conceive that you will sustain any loss in parting with Crow—for a mans abilities, or knowledge of business of little avail unless they are exerted; or if he suffers indolence, or amusements to overcome them—& a bad temper to keep all around him in a state of disquietude which was too much the case with him as well as the loss of stock and injury to other things by his inattentions and neglect.—Do what you think best with McKoy, but recollect always that the season for providing *good* Overseers is passing away, & none will be to be had late, except such as, with difficulty, can get places

at all:—yet, I had rather you should take the chance of the Eastern Shore before you engage any on the other, or round abt. you, as they are more accustomed to farming.—But it may not be amiss to let it be generally known, before you go to the Eastern Shore, that you are in want of Overseers; that if you fail to obtain any while there your chance may be the better after you return.—I have not the smallest doubt but that a considerable portion of the materials which falls into the hands of Green & them under him are applied to purposes of their own.—A letter is enclosed for Butler, who must take his own way.—

I hope your sick daughter has got well again —I am

Your friend &c.

Mr. William Pearce. Go: Washington

German Town 24th Augt. 94.

Mr. Pearce,

In reply to your letter of the 16th which, with the reports, came duly to hand; I have only to observe that it never was my intention to withdraw the hands from other essential work to employ them on the New Mill Race, on the contrary I only wish that this job may be prosecuted at times—and, at all times, when their other avocations will permit it without detriment.—No work is more essential, nor is there any that can be more pleasing to me, than that of getting

Ruins of Gilbert Stuart's Studio

the meadows in nice order—of course, employing the Ditchers to effect this cannot but be satisfactory.

I wish the Overseer you have lately engaged may turn out well.—the Masons may judge tolerably of his industry, but they are very incompetent (in my opinion) to decide on his skill in any of the branches of farming particularly those of meadowing, grazing, & the care of stock—being planters themselves & little used to either.—However if he sober, honest, industrious and docile, he may do under your immediate instructions, if you can keep him always with his people (and this I hope you will do) and make him be attentive to your orders and whatsoever entrusted to his care especially work horses and cattle.

Alexandria will be no good school for Pine; and if you can find by enquiry after his having been there, that he falls into bad habits, or bad company, do not be concerned with him, let his promises be what they may; for these will follow him to Mount Vernon, where I would have neither introduced.—I am under no sort of obligation to him, & therefore he can have no cause to complain if he is not employed by me.

Enclosed is a letter from Mr. Butler.—On what ground he can expect further compensation than the agreement stipulates, I am at a loss to conceive.—He will recollect that he represented himself to me as a person who had, and was qualified to superintend a large place.—Under this idea it is highly probable I might & I dare say did tell him that if he was found

competent to any extent that he would be entrusted with the management of one of the Farms, where the wages were higher that could be afforded at the Mansion House—but has this been the case?—On the contrary, has it not been found, from experience, that from his age, inactivity, and want of authority, he has been found incompetent to the present concern, with which he was entrusted; & for these reasons I part with him? & they are, surely, a sufficient bar to his application—unless, as possibly is the case, he means not to be charged with the money which was given to him to bear his expences from Philadelphia to Mount Vernon. —This I did not intend to do, & further, if he goes away before the expiration of the year, he may, notwithstanding, receive the whole wages of one;—What agreement you made with him for the last year, I know not—I always supposed he was on the same lay as the year before & this must certainly be understood if no new agreement be made.—

Is Groves a married or single man?—If the former, what family has he?

How did your Turnips come up? and what is the present appearance of them for a Crop?—What is the matter with your youngest daughter—and how is your eldest now.—

I remain your friend &c.

Go: Washington.

Mr. William Pearce.

German Town 31st Augt. 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

In your last letter of the 24th inst. came a copy of the condition of Colo. Lyle's Bond; but you did not give the date of it; for which reason the purpose it was wanted for, cannot be accomplished until the date is transmitted.—

In one of the early letters I wrote to you, I pointed out a method, which if you would observe, it would be impossible to omit anything to which an answer was requisite:—that is, when you are going to write, take up the letter and in reading it, make a short note of any part as you come to it, on the back of a letter, a piece of waste paper, or slate, to which a reply is necessary.—Having gone through the letter in this manner, you begin your own, and note after note, as the contents are inserted in your letter, is scratched out.—By this means no part of a long letter can ever escape notice by not carrying the whole in your memory, when you sit down to write, or by being called off while you are writing it.—

You have not, in any of your letters, said anything of what you had done, or was about to do, respecting the drilled Wheat & Barley.—I would have you make the most you can of the first, and give the other another fair trial, for if it yields on my estate in the proportion that Wheat does to Barley in this Country, the culture of the latter must be more profitable than that of the former.—Whenever the sowing of any field is compleated, let it be noted in the Weekly

Report, with the quantity of Seed which has been given to it.—

The usual practice on those who have been seized with the ague & fever, has been, after the third fit, or as soon as it intermits regularly, to give an emetic, which often carries it away without the Bark, or other application.—

The land Mr. Gunnel speaks of, lyes in Loudoun County, although it is within 18 or 20 miles of Alexandria.—But if the facts which he relates with respect to the Trespass thereon can be clearly proved, request Colo. Simms of Alexandria, or any other who practices in Loudoun Court, & is well recommended to you, to bring suit against them.—for it is really shameful to be treated in the manner I am by people who take such liberties with my timber & wood during my absence—under a supposition they may do it with impunity.—

You may inform Mr. Pierce Bailey that my selling, or not selling that Tract, depends upon getting the terms of my asking, complied with.—These are Fifteen hundred pounds (Virga. currency) Five hundred of which to be paid down, and interest on the other two thirds until discharged—the credit to be agreed on which may be 3, four, or more years; provided the land & a Bond is given as security for payment of the principal; and some unquestionable surety for the regular discharge of the interest on the day it becomes due.—Mr. Gill of Alexandria came up to my price, but we differed with respect to the Interest. —

There is about 300 acres of it, with two good Mill Seats on it—one wholly mine, the other on difficult run which divides my Land from others.—There is also a good deal of Meadow land on the tract.—

I have no objection to your putting up the Still which is at Mount Vernon, if any advantage from it can be derived from the tax which is laid upon it;—which Doctr. Stuart & others, who have Stills, can give you better information than I am able to do.—

What is the matter with young Boatswain? who, to the best of my recollection has been on the sick list many weeks.—I wish you well and am

Your friend &c.

Go: Washington.

Mr. William Pearce.—

German Town Septr. 7th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

Your letter of the 31st ulto. with the Reports, I have received.—

A few days ago I received a letter from Mr. Pyne dated in the City of Washington still expressing a desire to be employed at Mount Vernon, and a wish to be there some short time before Butler left it, that he might get a little insight into the nature of the business previous to his entering upon duty.—I referred him for his being employed at all, & for the terms & time, to you; not chusing to enter into any agreement with him myself lest it might militate with

any views of yours—desiring him to show you the letter I wrote him on this subject that you might be acquainted with my ideas thereon.—

Enclosed is a certificate for Mr. Butler—The latter part I suppose he wd. have dispensed with—but in my opinion it is necessary that the whole truth on such occasions should be told for I have no idea that with a view to serve one person it is justifiable to deceive another—and without that part, it might with propriety be asked why I parted with him.—If his activity, spirit, & ability in the management of Negros were equal to his honesty, sobriety & industry there would not be the least occasion for a change.—

It is not possible for me, at this distance to say when the Carpenters & Negros on the respective farms will be most at leisure for removing the Negro quarters at Union and River Farms; but if this work is not set about before the weather gets cool, it may be dangerous (as the daubing and filling in will be green, & not sun enough to dry them before winter) to put the Negros in them—and besides, after the ground gets soft & slippery, the trouble, and time necessary to accomplish the removal of the houses will be double.—I have nothing further to add at present than to wish you & family well.—Being

Your friend &c.

Go: Washington.

German Town Sepr. 14th 1794.

Mr. Pearce,

I am well satisfied that the omission of the date of Colo. Lyle's bond was accident & not design—& for that reason suggested a mode, by the observance of which, no information that is required will ever be omitted.—When is the Gentleman, by promise, to discharge this bond?

I think you were quite right in sowing the early (or drilled) wheat at different seasons, with a view to discover the best season for it.—But have you been told, or do you know that the drilled Wheat at Union farm was of two kinds—one of them double-headed.—Unless Crow kept them asunder, the next growth from these seeds will be a curious hotch potch.—

I am sorry to hear of the heavy rains you have had, on many accounts; but on none more than throwing you backward in the Mill Swamps, & the hard and unfit condition it will put these grounds for the reception of the grass seeds even if it should not have gullied & washed the soil off in places.—I know too, that besides stopping your ploughs on acct. of the wetness of the land, that such rains are apt to gully the fields already sown with wheat and to render those which have not received in the seed in a much worse condition for this purpose but as these are the effects of Providential dispensations, resignation is our duty.—I am persuaded you will render the disadvantage as light as possible & that is all I can expect.—Under these circumstances I hope the season has not urged

you to sow faster than the ground was in order; for I know no practice worse than ploughing & sowing when it is too wet.

Drains in all the fields that require it (& none requires it more than No. 6 at Dogue Run) if those heavy rains had not come; ought to be made before the winter wets set in; as, for want of these; & notwithstanding I am continually inculcating this doctrine upon my Overseers, I have much wheat drowned every year.

I am sorry to hear that you, among others, have the Ague & fever.—It has, from what I hear, been uncommonly rife this year—occasioned it is presumed, by the wetness of the summer.—An emetic, after it becomes regular, as I mentioned in one of my former letters & care generally removes it.—

The actual spitting of young Boatswain should be carefully investigated, & medical aid administered if it be real;—which from the temper of the boys mother, & her desire of keeping him with her as waiter may well be questioned.—Under pretence once before, of a hurt by a Cart she kept him three months (if I recollect rightly) in the house with her until he was forced out & this may be the case again.

Whilst some deny, others affirm that the yellow fever is in Baltimore—I shall decide nothing on this head myself, and only mention the matter, that if that should be your rout to the Eastern Shore whensoever you may go, that you may be on your guard.

I am. Your friend &c

Mr. William Pearce Go: Washington

CHAPTER XV.

Gilbert Stuart and the Washington Portraits.

WATSON, in his "Annals of Philadelphia," makes the statement that Gilbert Stuart painted both the full-length, so-called "Marquis of Lansdowne," portrait of Washington and also the "Athenæum" head, in Germantown. Definite or documentary evidence is sadly lacking when the life and work of this gifted artist are considered, but what evidence there is to confirm Watson's statement has been collected here. Much of it is in the way of tradition and of later day gossip of the studio, but a lack of any direct evidence to the contrary gives these rather slender historical props greater weight and strength than they might otherwise possess.

The honor of having been the place where was painted the best known and most satisfactory portrait of the First President, which has also been considered the masterpiece of a truly great portrait painter, is one well worth striving for, and one which seems properly to belong to Germantown.

Gilbert Stuart returned to America in 1792, landing in New York, after a seventeen years' absence. He had come back to his native land filled with an intense desire to paint the portrait of Washington. He remained in New York for about two years, and it was not until late in November, 1794, that he reached Philadelphia with a letter of introduction to Washington from John Jay, whose portrait he had painted. Stuart was soon enjoying great popularity as an artist, and his studio in the house where he resided, the southeast corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets, was overrun with work. Here he painted his first portrait of Washington, which Stuart himself says was so unsatisfactory that he afterwards destroyed it. Rembrandt Peale gives the date as September, 1795, for he himself had been allowed three sittings of three hours each and was then at work on a portrait of Washington.

Stuart painted in all three portraits of Washington *from life*. First, the one referred to above, a full bust showing the right side of the face and sometimes called the "Vaughan" portrait; second, the full-length so-called "Marquis of Lansdowne" portrait, and third, the well-

known unfinished head now in the possession of the Boston Athenæum. It was the second and third of these which, according to Watson, were painted in Germantown. To this assertion, so far as relates to the third portrait, can be added the positive testimony of Miss Jane Stuart, the artist's daughter.*

The second portrait was executed for the purpose of presentation to the Marquis of Lansdowne at the charge of William Bingham, of Philadelphia. The painting was afterwards sold at auction, and was purchased by Samuel Williams, an American merchant in London. It is at the present time owned by Lord Rosebery, who acquired with the portrait an autograph letter of Washington's. The letter was addressed to "Mr. Stuart, Chestnut Street," and is as follows:

Sir:—I am under promise to Mrs. Bingham to sit for you to-morrow at nine o'clock, and wish to know if it be convenient to you that I should do so, and whether it shall be at your own house (as she talked of the State House), I send this note to ask information. I am, sir, your obedient servant,

Geo. Washington.

Monday Evening, 11th April, 1796.

* Scribner's Magazine, July, 1876.

In looking over my papers to find one that had the signature of George Washington, I found this, asking me when he should sit for his portrait, which is now owned by Samuel Williams, of London. I have thought it proper that it should be his, especially as he owns the only original painting I ever made of Washington, except one I own myself.* I painted a third, but rubbed it out.† I now present this to his brother Timo. Williams, for said Samuel.

Gt. Stuart.

Boston, 9th day of March, 1823.

N. B. Mr. Stuart painted in ye winter season his first portrait of Washington, but destroyed it. The next painting was ye one owned by S. Williams, third Mr. S. has —— two only remain as above.

T. W.

[Timothy Williams.]

The Lansdowne portrait thus begun in mid-April was completed some time in May, 1796. Rembrandt Peale, in company with his father and uncle, called to see it during that month. They all agreed that it was beautifully painted and touched in a masterly style, but with perhaps the natural feeling of rival artists they yet found fault with it as a likeness,

* This was the Athenæum portrait.

† This was presumably the original of the so-called Vaughan portrait.

and declared that its value as a portrait was less than its merit as a painting.* Stuart was so interrupted in his work by the visits of those who wished to see the portrait, the fame of which was rapidly spreading, that upon the suggestion and advice of his friends he placed it on exhibition in the State House, employed a man to look after it and charged a small admission fee. It was on exhibition here during the latter part of June and some time after that date it was forwarded to England. The letter from the Marquis of Lansdowne to the Binghams expressing his thanks and appreciation of the gift and at the same time his admiration for the character of Washington, was dated March 5th, 1797, and in it he apologized for his delay in writing.

It was on account of the interruptions occasioned by the natural desire of many to see the artist and his paintings that Stuart decided to remove to the quiet and seclusion of Germantown. The exact date is not known, but the presumption is it was in the early summer of 1796, and consequently after the original Lansdowne

* Letter of Rembrandt Peale, Magazine of American History, August, 1880.

portrait was finished, but a replica was executed for William Bingham, and this without any doubt was made in Germantown.* This would in a measure justify the Annalist's assertion, that a Lansdowne portrait was painted in Germantown. This painting made for William Bingham was turned over to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts by Bingham's executors in 1811, and is still in its possession.

In Germantown Stuart occupied the house now numbered 5140 Main Street, then the property of Samuel Bringhurst. The second floor of a little two-story barn at the rear was fitted up and used as a studio. It was surmounted with a big weather vane in the form of an Indian with extended bow and arrow. Stuart had the interior lathed and plastered and the outside painted red. Until it was destroyed by fire, some forty years ago, the interior walls were daubed in many places with the artist's brush. After the fire the ruins were roofed over, and in this shape it was preserved until about five years ago, when it was entirely cleared away.

* For an interesting article by Charles Henry Hart, aiming to prove that Bingham's portrait was the original and the Marquis of Lansdowne's the replica, see Harper's Magazine, March, 1895.

On the 27th of July, 1797, Robert Gilmor, a young gentleman from Baltimore, accompanied by Mr. Sherlock, an English friend, visited Germantown and called on Stuart. Gilmor had provided himself with a letter of introduction from the Vicomte de Noailles, then in Philadelphia. The travelers knocked at the door, which was opened by Mrs. Stuart, who said that her husband was out. Mr. Gilmor requested that she would forward the note to him no matter where he was, telling her at the same time he only had a few days in Philadelphia, and that they would be greatly disappointed if they did not see the portrait of Washington, which was the object of their call. Mrs. Stuart at length invited them into the parlor. In a few moments the artist appeared, greeted them in the most welcome manner, offered them refreshments and invited them to the stable studio in the rear. Gilmor then goes on to say, "The picture he had there of the President was the first copy he had made of the celebrated full-length which he had painted for Mrs. Bingham, intended as a present to the Marquis of Lansdowne. It was supposed one of the finest portraits that ever was painted. This copy was

for Mr. Bingham's own use, and from which Stuart told us he had engaged to finish copies to amount of 70 or 80,000 D^{rs} at the rate of 600 D^{rs} a copy. This circumstance is an unique in the history of painting, that the portrait of one man should be sought after in such a degree as to be copied by the original artist such a number of times and for such an amount."

There were a number of unfinished portraits of distinguished people in the studio which Mr. Gilmor thought very excellent. The callers were impressed with the good nature and humor of the artist, who related for their entertainment a number of interesting anecdotes. Upon taking leave Stuart invited them to make him another visit, on their return from New England, whither they were bound, and inspect the various copies he was making. The travelers separated in New England, and Mr. Gilmor on his return early in September was for a week the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Bingham at their country place, Lansdowne, on the west bank of the Schuylkill. Here he found Stuart at work on portraits of the various members of the Bingham family, and spent a portion of his

time watching the progress of the work in the library, where the artist had set up his easel.*

All authorities seem to agree that soon after the completion of the Lansdowne portrait the President commissioned Stuart to paint Mrs. Washington's portrait and his own. This was the third or Athenæum portrait, and its companion piece, the unfinished vignetted head of Mrs. Washington. Miss Stuart, in the article† previously referred to, states that these sittings were given in Germantown, and that having by this time become better acquainted with the President, the artist gained his entire self-possession, and was able by his conversation, particularly as to horses, to arouse the interest of the President, and thus secure the expression he desired.

William Wynne Wister, one of Germantown's honored citizens, now deceased, stated that Samuel Ashmead, whose father-in-law, Samuel Bringhurst, rented the premises to Stuart, and of whose heirs Mr. Wister bought the property, told him that when the General was visiting the studio for a sitting, he was in the

* From a manuscript journal of A Tour to the Eastern States in the Year 1797, in the Boston Public Library.

† Scribner's Magazine, July, 1876.

habit of walking into the garden and eating fruit from an apple tree, which in Mr. Wister's time still stood and bore fruit. The apple incident, if correct, would make the time of painting the portrait in the late summer or early fall. Washington returned to Philadelphia from a five weeks' visit to Mount Vernon on August 21st, 1796, and remained in Philadelphia until September 19th, when he left the city and did not return until October, 31st. His term of office expired March 4th, 1797. He left soon after for Mount Vernon, and except a visit made in November and December of 1798 was never again in Philadelphia or its immediate vicinity. There is therefore some reason to believe the sittings for the famous portrait were given in Germantown between August 21st and September 19th, 1796.

Miss Stuart has this explanation as to why this and the companion piece of Martha Washington were never finished: "When General and Mrs. Washington took their last sittings my father told Washington it would be of great importance to him to retain the original, to which Washington replied: 'Certainly, Mr. Stuart, if they are of any consequence to you;

I shall be perfectly satisfied with copies from your hand, as it will be impossible for me to sit again at present.'" The copies made from the original were for Mount Vernon, and Stuart afterwards made over sixty replicas of the President's portrait. He used to call the picture his hundred dollar bill, for when he was in need of funds he would hurriedly paint off a copy, for which there was always a ready sale. No portrait of Washington's later life is better known or more appreciated, and G. W. P. Custis says that it should be accepted as the standard portrait of the first President.*

Stuart was once asked which of the various representations of Washington was the best, and declared that Houdon's bust came first, and that his own unfinished portrait was next. He an-

* It is acknowledged that his likeness of Washington is the only just representation of a countenance wherein the tranquillity of self-approval blends with wisdom and truth, so as to form a moral ideal in portraiture as the character was in life. It is lamentable that such inadequate copies of this head have gone abroad, owing in some instances to the inability of engravers, and in others to the use of spurious originals. It was the last of his portraits of Washington alone with which Stuart expressed any satisfaction. He promised to present it to the family when finished, and with a humorous shrewdness in accordance with his character, left the head alone upon the broad canvas, in order to retain what he justly deemed his most invaluable trophy.

From Sketches of American Painters, by Henry T. Tuckerman.

swered one criticism, which apparently was frequently made of the constrained expression around the mouth, by explaining that it was due to the fact that he had just had a set of false teeth inserted. The President had lost his teeth in 1789 and had had a more or less unsatisfactory set. In order to remedy this defect in a measure, it is said Stuart inserted rolls of cotton between the President's teeth and cheeks while he was sitting.

The original unfinished paintings were retained by Stuart until his death in 1828, when they were sold, and in 1831 they were presented to the Boston Athenæum.

Stuart spent the following summer, that of 1798, in Germantown. David Edwin, a successful copper plate engraver, who had engraved many of the Stuart portraits, spent the summer of 1798 near the Falls of Schuylkill, and says that there he was a neighbor to Stuart. This statement would not be incompatible with Stuart's residence in Germantown. Further a Mrs. Capron advertised in June, 1798, that she would open a school in Germantown opposite Mr. Stuart's the painter.* As everybody who possi-

* Philadelphia Gazette, June 28th, 1798.

bly could left the city during the yellow fever visitation of 1799, there is every reason to suppose that the artist occupied the Germantown studio in that year, returning to Philadelphia or working in the homes of his many patrons during the winter. His name is not to be found in the Philadelphia directories for any year during his residence near Philadelphia, *i. e.*, 1795 to 1800. Some time after the seat of government removed to Washington he followed it there, and remained until about 1805, when he removed to Boston.

Several stories are extant relating to Stuart's residence in Germantown. He seems to have entered into the life of the town, and often used to stop at the stoop of the old Wister house, some doors above, to chat with the merry company that would gather there. While living there he was noted for his eccentricity and his love of eating and drinking. Gilmor, who has been quoted, said he had the appearance of a man addicted to drink. On one occasion he was observed kicking a large piece of meat from his house over to Diehl's, the butcher, indicating that it was too offensive to touch with his hands. On the sign of the King of Prussia tavern Stuart is

said to have painted a picture of Frederick the Great on horseback. It remained for many years, but in modern times was covered over with common black paint, with the inscription "King of Prussia Hotel" in plain letters.

The following story is given in all the early accounts of Stuart and his work, as if told by the painter himself:

"When I lived at Germantown a little, pert young man called on me, and addressed me thus: 'You are Mr. Stuart, sir, the great painter?' My name is Stuart, sir." Those who remember Mr. Stuart's athletic figure, quiet manner, sarcastic humor, and uncommon face, can alone imagine the picture he would have made as the intruder proceeded: "'My name is Winstanley, sir; you must have heard of me.' Not that I recollect, sir. 'No! Well, Mr. Stuart, I have been copying your full-length of Washington; I have made a number of copies; I have now six that I have brought to Philadelphia; I have got a room in the State House, and I have put them up, but before I show them to the public, and offer them for sale, I have a proposal to make to you.' Go on, sir. 'It would enhance their value, you know, if I

could say you had given them the last touch. Now, sir, all you have to do is to ride to town and give each of them a tap, you know, with your riding-switch—just thus, you know.'"

Stuart, who had been feeding his capacious nostrils with Scotch snuff, shut the box, and deliberately placed it on the table. Winstanley proceeded, "'And you will share the amount of the sale.' Did you ever hear that I was a swindler? 'Sir! You mistake. You know—'" The painter rose to his full height. "You will please to walk down stairs, sir, very quickly, or I shall throw you out at the window." The genius would have added another "you know," but seeing that the action was likely to be suited to the word, Winstanley took the hint and hastened down the stairs.

No further record is obtainable of any later visit of Washington to Germantown than these traditional autumn rides to the studio of Gilbert Stuart. It is a pleasant thought to conclude this narrative with the picture of the President riding out in the early fall, his dismounting and walking through the garden, picking apples from the trees, of his sitting and listening to the anecdotes and stories of which the painter had an

inexhaustible store and knew so well how to tell while he plied his brush, and of the result of this toil and skill, the faithful and best liked portrait of the great first President.

INDEX

PAGE

Adams, John, to Mrs. Adams . . 231
Adams, Thomas Boylston 232
Address to Washington 111
Alburger, John, House 102
American Revolution 200
Anas of Jefferson 138
Armstrong, John, to Washington . 211
Ashmead, Samuel 107
Athenæum Portrait of Washington, 297
Attorney-General's Formal Opinion, 119
Ball, Burgess, to Washington, 202, 247
260, 262, 272
Bank of North America 63
Bank of Pennsylvania 63
Bank of the U. S. 63
Baptistry 50
Beckley, John, to Madison 218
Belmont 7
Bensell, Dr. Charles 37, 93
Bensell House 37
Bettinger, Valentine 61
Betton, Dr. 61
Biddle, Charles 108
Billmeyer House 5
Bingham, William 299, 304
Blight, Peter 61
Bockius, William 100
Bolles and Jordan 61
Brandywine, Battle of 3
Bringhurst, John 105
Bringhurst, Samuel 302
Bringhurst, William 113
Buchan, Earl of 192
Buck Tavern 44
Budd, Joseph 61
Bush Hill 10

PAGE

Cabinet Meetings 132
Carlton, Henry Hill's house . . 2, 3
Carmalt, Caleb 61
Carrington, Edward, to Washington 66
Chew House 5, 7
Chichester, Richard 206
Chichester, Richard, to Washington 198
Cigars 47
Citizen of Va. to Washington . . 180
Congress Meets 218
Conyngham, Nesbit & Co. 61
Craig, Jr., James 61
Crukshank, Joseph 61
Custis, Eleanor Parke 234
Custis, Geo. Washington Parke . . 234
235, 307
Dallas, Alexander, Jr. 82
Dandridge, Bartholomew . . 99, 276
Dandridge to Hamilton 214
Dandridge to Knox 215
Deshler, David 113
Dilworth, Samuel 61
Dove, David J. 101
Drinker, Elizabeth, Journal of . . 37
Dungan, Thomas 112
Dunlap, John 60, 61
Durany, Jacob, to Washington . . 197
Eckfelt, Jacob 61
Edwin, David 308
Emerson, Mrs. 12, 16
Emlen, George 61
Evans, David 61
Fair Hill 11
Falls of Schuylkill 1, 3, 308
Ferree, Joseph . . 98, 100, 105, 107
Field, John 61

PAGE

Fisher, James and Samuel 61
Fisher, Thomas 61
Fortification of Harbors 148
Fox, Charles James 221
Fox, George 61
Fox, Samuel 61
Franks' House, Furniture in . . . 114
Fraunces, Samuel 16
Fraunces to Washington 34
Franks, Isaac . . . 92, 97, 112, 113 116, 275
Fries, John 61
Fromberger, John 61
Germain, James 100
Genet, Edmund C. 133
German Reformed Church 236
Germantown Academy . . 63, 77, 101 104, 106, 159, 234
Germantown, Battle of 4
Germantown, Contributions from, 18, 60
Germantown Crowded 33
Germantown Escapes Contagion . . 55
Germantown, Hamilton's Opinion of 79
Germantown, Main Street 56
Germantown, Pickering Visits . . . 85
Germantown, Randolph's Opinion of, 83 127, 129
Germantown, Road to 93
Germantown, Washington Encamps at 1, 2, 3
Germantown in 1793 37
Gilmor, Robert 303
Haines, Reuben 61
Hallowell, John 61
Hamilton, Alexander, 11, 22, 67, 77 78, 104, 138, 214, 244, 250, 276
Hamilton to Washington, 78, 205, 243
Hamilton, William 10
Hartshorne, Lodge & Co. 61
Henry, Patrick 245, 255
Herman, Rev. Frederick . . . 98, 100 112, 234
Hesser, George, Home of 37

PAGE

Hill, Henry, House Occupied by Washington 2
Hill, Henry 105, 107, 159
Hiltzheimer, Jacob 60
Houdon's Bust of Washington . . 308
Howe, Sir William 4
Jay, John 298
Jefferson, Thomas, 11, 21, 23, 99, 103 107, 138, 206, 219
Jefferson's Anas 138
Jefferson Reaches Germantown . . 99
Jefferson to District Attorneys . . . 141
Jefferson to Madison 108
Jefferson to John F. Mercer . . . 232
Jefferson to Washington 71
Jenkins, Howard M. 90
King of Prussia Tavern . 100, 102, 109 140, 309
Knorr, Jacob 56
Knox, Henry . . . 15, 22, 23, 67, 77 104, 138, 215
Knox, Henry, to Washington, 24, 27 31, 202, 207, 215, 216
Lancaster, Pa. 109, 112
Lauman, George 61
Lansdowne 304
Lansdowne, Marquis of . . . 299, 301
Lansdowne Portrait of Washington . 297
Lear, Tobias 190
Lear, Tobias, to Washington, 185, 194 250
Lee, Gov. Henry, to Washington . 244
Lennox, Major David 97
Lewis, Mordecai 61
Lewis, Nicholas 203
Livezey Mill Burned 51
Logan, Dr. George 5, 53
Logan, James 3
Luken, Jan 90
Lut, Lewis 99
McCall, Archibald 61
Madison, James 67, 103, 218
Main Street 56
Marine Belt 139
Market Square Church . . . 64, 236

PAGE
Mechlin, Samuel 105, 107
Meng, Melchoir 105
Mercer, John F. 232
Merkle, John 100
Meredith, Jonathan 61
Mifflin, Governor Thomas . . . 9, 82
Morgan, Thomas 61
Morris, Benjamin Wistar 61
Morris House 117
Morris, Elliston P. 118
Morris, Samuel B. 118
Mt. Airy 38
Mt. Vernon 15, 277, 306
Mutual Fire Insurance Co. 100
New Hope, Pa. 1
Nixon, John 61
Peale, Rembrandt 298, 300
Pearce, William 278
Penna. Academy of Fine Arts . . 302
Perot, Elliston and John 61
Peters, Richard 7, 79, 86
Phile, Dr. Frederic 77
Pickering, Colonel Timothy, 29, 67, 85
Pickering to Washington . . 30, 86
Pleasants, Samuel & Sons 61
Proclamation, Form of . . . 80, 84
Poulson, Zachariah, Letter from . 57
Powel, Samuel 7, 12
Powel, Elizabeth 12
Parke, Dr. Thomas 56
Randolph Arranges for the President's Comfort 89
Randolph, Edmund . 11, 67, 89, 104 119, 138, 246
Randolph, Thomas Mann 103
Randolph to Washington . . 81, 91, 92 96, 97, 110
Rawle, William 61
Ray, J. M. 234
Reading, Pa., 83, 109, 111, 128, 129
Record of a Busy Month 152
Residence Act 120
Righter's Ferry 93
Roberts, George 61
Roseberry, Lord 299
PAGE
Ross, James 237, 274
St. Clair, Sir John 193
Sansom, Joseph 61
Schneider, Christr. 107
Smith, Robert 61
Smith, William 22, 104
Snowdon, Richard, to Washington . 200
Spencer Family 89
Stenton, ... 2, 3, 4, 5
Stevens, Edward 204
Stuart, Gilbert 103, 297
Stuart, Gilbert, Removes to Germantown 301
Stuart, Jane 299, 306
Summer of 1794 234
Swift, Joseph 61
Thornton, William, to Washington, 216
Thurston, C. M. 240
Trenton, N. J. 128, 129
Trumbull, Jonathan 67
Trumbull, Jonathan, to Washington, 182
Trustees of Academy to Washington, 106
Trustees Call on Washington . . . 159
Vaughan Portrait of Washington . 298
Vaughan, John 61
Wagner, John 61
Waln, Nicholas 61
Waln, Robert and Jesse 61
Warder, Jeremiah 61
Warder, John 61
Warner, Dr. Jonathan 44
Watson, John F. 297
Washington Absent from Germantown 143
Washington as a Farmer 277
Washington's Early Visits 1
Washington Encamps at Germantown 1
Washington, Martha, 12, 234, 236, 305
Washington Passes Through Germantown 276
Washington Returns to Germantown 112
Washington Returns to Philadelphia 275, 276

PAGE

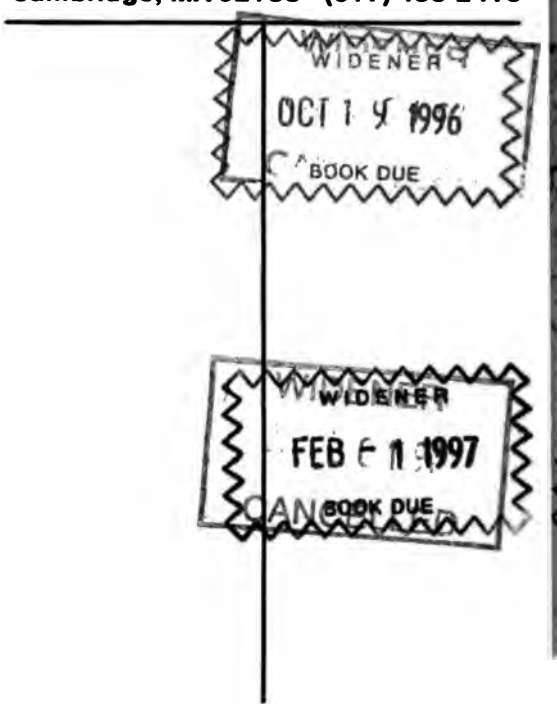
Washington Sets Out from Mount Vernon 152
Washington's Speech to Congress . 221
Washington Tavern 52
Washington to Burgess Ball . 209, 239
Washington to Earl of Buchan . . 192
Washington to Richard Chichester, 206
Washington to Bryan Fairfax . . . 271
Washington to Hamilton . . . 23, 244, 250, 270
Washington to John Jay 264
Washington to Jefferson 206
Washington to Tobias Lear, 15, 191, 260
Washington to Henry Lee 253
Washington to Nicholas Lewis . . 203
Washington to Robert Lewis . . . 268
Washington to Madison 68
Washington to William Pearce . . 278, 283, 285, 288, 291, 293, 295
Washington to Thomas Peter . . . 266
Washington to Randolph . 90, 93, 246
Washington to James Ross . . 237, 274
Washington to Sir John St. Clair . 193
Washington to Edward Stevens . . 204

PAGE

Washington to Gilbert Stuart . . . 299
Washington to C. M. Thurston . . 240
Washington to Trustees 107
Washington to Alexander White . 208
Wells and Morris 61
West Point, Military Academy at 148, 150
Willing, Richard 13
Wharton, Isaac 61
Wharton, Robert 61
Where Shall Congress Meet? . . . 65
White, Alexander 208
Whitemarsh Encampment 7
Whiskey Insurrection 276
Williams, Samuel 300
Williams, Timothy 300
Wister, Charles J. 232
Wister, John 37
Wister, William Wynne 305
Wolcott, Jr., Oliver . . . 10, 22, 67
Wolcott to Washington 72
Womelsdorf, Pa. 111
Yellow Fever 8, 40, 63, 230
Young, Charles 61

ב

3 2044 020 540 613

THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED AN OVERDUE FEE IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW. NON-RECEIPT OF OVERDUE NOTICES DOES NOT EXEMPT THE BORROWER FROM OVERDUE FEES.

Harvard College Widener Library
Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 495-2413